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AMERICA'S INTEREST IN EASTERN ASIA.

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THERE are few if any questions pertaining to the foreign interests of the United States which are to-day more important than the question: What is or what shall be its material policy in Eastern Asia?

In other terms, shall the Great Republic be a strong or weak factor, a known or an unknown quantity, in working out the complex problem that presents itself in the development of Japan, Korea, China and Siam?

The apparent absence of positive American commercial influence and direct concern in the present *post-bellum* situation, and the seeming neglect of rare opportunity, are sufficient ground for proposing the question; the possibilities of the future, with their inevitable bearing upon our own prosperity, are ample reason for its discussion and answer.

It is not my privilege to examine the merits of our general diplomatic policy towards these Eastern nations, nor does the scope of the article require it. From the days of Caleb Cushing, Edmund Roberts, Townsend Harris, Anson Burlingame, and Commodore Perry to the present, the record is an honorable one; and I may be pardoned for expressing the selfish belief that

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the representatives of the United States now in the Orient are doing all in their limited power to legitimately enhance the prestige of their land and flag. But they ask for that co-operation and assistance which can be rendered specifically by Congress and our commercial and maritime interests, and generally by the awakened sentiment of the American people. While it is our traditional policy not to achieve territorial aggrandizement by martial conquest, there is no precedent which says we shall not undertake commercial extension by peaceable conquest, and shape not only our foreign relations, but our home enterprises, with that purpose in view.

Frankly and truthfully stated—though not pleasing to our national pride—our country is not regarded by the Oriental people in their practical knowledge and relations as a Great Power in the common acceptance of the term; it is not placed in the same category with Great Britain, France, Germany and Russia. Theoretically only do they class it with these; they think of it with a vague, undefined conception—powerful perhaps but distant, grand in its home influence but having little concern in foreign affairs. To both the traveller and the permanent resident in the Orient this is constantly in evidence whether he be at a seaport or in the interior. A study of its cause finds speedy solution in our small and neglected maritime and trade interests. "Old Glory" is more of a curio to the Oriental than an emblem of progress and power. When the beautiful steam yacht of one of our millionaires anchored in Bangkok's harbor, the natives learned from what country it came by comparing its ensign with the flag that floated over the United States Legation! But this is not surprising in view of the fact that not one of the 517 merchant vessels that entered this busy port last year was American.

Yet in the light of results to be attained and of effects upon the ultimate standing of the races and nations of the world, it is not unreasonable to affirm that the United States has as great interest in the development of Eastern Asia as in that of South and Central America. It would be well if a fair share of the attention given to the latter countries and the energy exerted in exploiting them were diverted to that wonderful coast which reaches from Japan and Siberia to Java and Siam. Japan alone has more inhabitants than all of South America; while the Nic-

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aragua canal finds a greater argument for its construction in facilitating trade with the Orient than facilitating that with Western South America.

Get a map and look at that trans-Pacific coast; get reliable authorities and study its history, resources and conditions; get a ticket to cross the seas and travel from one end of it to the other; get acquainted with it thoroughly and not superficially; and then its possibilities as a powerful agent in shaping the history of men will be fully appreciated.

Extending right away for over 4,000 miles from Hakodate and Vladivostock to Bangkok and Singapore; peopled with 400,000,000 restless beings; busy with a great and growing commercial exchange; provided with capacious harbors and thriving *entrepots* of trade; intersected by mighty rivers and canals; possessed of uplands in which are found every mineral the earth produces, and of lowlands that are gardens of prodigal fertility; densely populated in certain sections; with vast resourceful areas unimproved; presenting the extremes of progress and retrogression, of energy and sloth, of advanced civilization and lowest barbarism; having histories and boasting of philosophies that antedate those of Christian nations; and possibly at this very hour on the verge of momentous events which may necessitate the remaking of the maps of the world; this section of Asia with all its phases and questions, indeed fascinates alike the diplomat and the tradesman, the politician and the economist, the conqueror and the peacemaker, the optimist and the pessimist.

What better indication can there be of what these countries can do than what they are doing? What better proof of the value of this field is wanted than the business it already possesses? What plainer evidence is at hand that the opportunity is not appreciated and improved by our own country than the comparison of its efforts and results with those of other lands? Statistics and figures are usually dry and uninteresting, except when they bring important facts to light. They are quoted here to answer the questions just asked.

The total foreign trade of Japan, Korea, China, and Siam in 1894, roughly stated, was $725,000,000,* of which the share of Japan and China was $665,000,000; of Siam and Korea,

*The figures given are silver dollars. All calculations and transactions of the Asiatic coast are in silver, and with the fluctuating value of the same in gold it would be unsatisfactory to give the returns in the latter coin.

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$60,000,000. Were the trade of European colonies of the coast added to the above total it would reach the grand sum of nearly $1,000,000,000.

Japan's foreign trade shows a remarkable increase from $64,400,000 in 1885 to $230,700,000 in 1894; that of China from $229,809,000 in 1885 to $435,300,000 in 1894; that of Siam, from $19,400,000 in 1892 to $42,000,000 in 1894.

In both Japan and China the imports from foreign countries exceed the exports, and show a greater increase than the latter from 1885 to 1894. Japanese imports increased from only $28,300,000 in 1885 to $117,400,000 in 1894, and her exports from $36,100,000 to $113,200,000 in 1894; China's imports developed in the same years from $132,300,000 to $243,150,000 and her exports from $97,500,000 to $192,150,000.

The excess of China over Japan is not large in view of the fact that China has eight times the population of Japan and her customs returns are made from 24 ports, against only six in Japan.

We have now seen how great is the volume of the trade of these countries and how extensively they purchase from other lands. The share of the United States in this commercial exchange is next to be noted. Japan's imports from the United States in 1894 amounted to $11,000,000 approximately, but imports from England were over $42,000,000, and yet Japan is almost 9,000 miles nearer San Francisco than London. Imports from other European countries reached nearly $16,000,000. In short, Japan's imports from all Europe were $58,000,000, or five times in excess of her American imports. A careful examination of the schedule of imports, however, shows that the United States can produce and manufacture fully 60 per cent. of the goods represented by that $58,000,000.

In the matter of exports from Japan the showing is still more remarkable. Her exports to the United States in 1894 were over $43,000,000, or a balance against us of $32,000,000! Contrast this with England. Her purchases from Japan were only $6,000,000, or a splendid balance in her favor of $34,000,000! The United States provides Japan with her best market. The nearest approach is France with purchases of $19,000,000, which are largely silk remanufactured, and then sold perhaps as extensively in the United States as in other lands.

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The moral from these figures is plain. If the exporters of the United States wishing to trade with Japan would show as much energy and interest as their brother importers who have their best men stationed in the Mikado's realm to buy the first qualities of teas, silks, and curios, they could develop a greater market, and either make the balance in favor of America or at least equalize the exchange.

In China is another object lesson of American opportunity neglected, another illustration of an unfavorable balance. China's imports from the United States in 1894 approximated $10,000,000, her exports $25,000,000, or a debit balance for the United States of $15,000,000. From England her imports were $45,000,000 against exports of $36,000,000, or a credit balance in favor of that kingdom of $9,000,000. A minute study of the schedule of China's imports from England and other European countries permits the same conclusion that obtains in a like inspection of Japan's imports; there is no valid reason in the nature of the goods themselves why a major per cent. of them should not come from the United States. Were this paper merely a technical one, I would quote liberally from the specific customs' returns of China, Japan, and Siam, to substantiate more fully this assertion, but this is the work of trade reports. Not only could a large proportion of these articles be exported from America, but an investigation of both wholesale and retail prices proves that the American products could be sold at a reasonable profit.

Whatever may be the exact hindrances, there is no question that the decadence and threatened extinction of our merchant marine is a mill-stone around the neck of our foreign commerce. Let American shipping interests, fostered by the helping hand of Congress, regain their hold of former days in these waters, and our trade with the Orient will increase with a pace that will warm the heart of the coldest blooded misanthrope.

The shipping returns of Japan well nigh impel the patriotic American to hide his face in shame. Into the ports of that little kingdom, just over the sea from California, Oregon and Washington, there entered in 1894 only 32 steamers flying the Stars and Stripes out of a total of 1,788, and this paltry number showed a decrease of five from 37 in 1893! Out of a total tonnage of 2,539,951, the steamers of that nation whose fleet once ruled the ocean wide could muster only 83,350. Along with our

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lonely 32 steamers were 850 British and 370 German. In sailing vessels our showing was somewhat better, but there we were outnumbered again by the British.

I hesitate to speak of our shipping in China lest I be accused of misrepresentation, but as it is the purpose of this article to tell the truth and awaken interest in the hunt for the Golden Fleece of far Cathay, I must make no exceptions. Shanghai is the most important port of China. In 1894, 2,844 merchant steamers with a tonnage of 3,304,918 entered that port but not one was American! Not one American trading steamer came to Newchwang out of 348; not one to Tientsin of 645; not one to Cheefoo of 1,031; not one to Chinkiang of 1,493; not one to Foochow of 294; not one to Canton of 2,250. Kind Amoy only breaks the mournful record, where four lone steamers out of 822 found a haven in her quiet waters. Hong Kong of course is the terminal point of our few trans-Pacific steamer lines, but that is not strictly a Chinese port. A small number of sailing ships wandering up and down the coast, and a few men-of-war cruising here and there, alone carried our flag into China's waters. I have already mentioned how lonesome the Legation ensign is in Siam.

In face of all these facts and conditions it is as palpable as the sun in the sky that American maritime and trade interests in this part of the world are not only grossly neglected, but afford an opportunity for vigorous development that it is ludicrous and inconsistent to deny.

Who is to blame? If Congress, let it proceed to legislate the remedy. If shippers and exporters, manufacturers and merchants, let them enter upon a campaign of education and development. If the American people at large, let them awake to the fact that the principle of the survival of the fittest must apply to nations, that commerce is their life-giving energy, and that without such life blood the United States cannot be numbered among the fittest.

To the Nicaragua canal reference has already been made, but it is of sufficient importance to invite more consideration. Were any man who is now opposed to its construction to thoroughly study its bearing on our commercial relations with Eastern Asia and all the other countries of the Pacific seas, it is probable that he would be convinced of the error of his position. The best

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British trade experts openly state that its completion will place the United States in a position to control the markets of the Pacific. Mr. A. S. Colquhoun, whose life and energies seem to be devoted to the advancement of Great Britain's foreign trade, has recently in an exhaustive discussion shown how completely in the event of its construction can the United States dominate every market north of Hong Kong and south east of Java, that is, Japan, Korea, northern and central China, Australia, and New Zealand and the islands of Australasia. The extent of the present commerce and traffic between Europe and the Pacific is measured to a large extent by the greatly increasing business of the Suez canal. The tonnage passing through the canal in 1894 reached the enormous volume of 11,750,000 tons, and its receipts the astonishing figures of 75,500,000 francs or about 15,100,000 gold dollars. The Nicaragua canal may not show such traffic and revenues at first, but it will not have long to wait. It will enable the South not only to supply the increasing demand for raw cotton in Japan and China which is destined to reach a great figure in the near future, but it will place the manufacturing centres of the Atlantic seaboard and the Central West 1,200 to 2,000 miles nearer the great markets of Japan, Korea, and Northern China. In brief it will give manufacturing and productive America a clear basis of advantage in the matter of water routes and transportation. In 1894, the exports of the United States to all the countries of Eastern Asia did not reach $15,000,000 gold, while those of Europe exceeded $75,000,000. Two years after the Nicaragua canal is opened, I deem it no exaggeration to say that our trans-Pacific trade will exceed $75,000,000 or a sum almost sufficient to construct it.

To enumerate all the conditions, the lack of which have retarded the development of our Asiatic trade in the past, and the presence of which will materially assist it, would consume more space than is at the writer's disposal. That I may not be guilty, however, of diagnosing a disease without naming a remedy, a few suggestions are given as a result of considerable investigation.

Aside from the building up of our merchant marine and the opening of the Nicaragua Canal, are the following: the establishment of reliable branch American houses to handle all classes of American products; the sending of representatives

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possessing experience, tact, and thorough knowledge of their lines, both to study the Oriental demand and develop a market; Chambers of Commerce, Boards of Trade, banking and commercial agencies, obtaining full and truthful data on the demands of markets, the most direct and the cheapest routes, and the financial rating of Asiatic buyers; offering inducements similar and equal to those offered by European merchants, such as favorable terms of purchase and credit, opportunity and time to take advantage of advance in exchange; sending consignments on commission; packing and preparing goods with great care, sending only the best quality and at competitive rates, and securing prompt despatch; liberal advertising in the press of the leading ports; the establishment, where feasible, of papers under American control; Americans entering the employ of Asiatic governments, where hundreds of Europeans now have a monopoly and are quiet promoters of European interests; the possible sending of commercial missions, like those sent out by the Chambers of Commerce of French, British, and German manufacturing centres; the reasonable subsidizing of steamship lines, such as is now done with profit by the chief countries of Europe; maintaining an effective naval squadron to "show the flag" and protect American interests; and last, but assuredly not least, increasing the efficiency of legations and consulates by providing a sufficient and competent staff to perform the manifold duties incumbent upon them, proper buildings for offices, and sufficient allowances to maintain the same on an equality with those of other nations. A commercial *attaché* at each legation who could devote his entire time to his work would prove a valuable addition to the usual force, and his appointment a worthy innovation upon the present system.

In regard to the cheap labor of Japan and China, there is no doubt that it presents a grave question, but it is one that time alone can solve. It is not such as to debar or deter American producers and manufacturers from entering the field. The day is yet distant, if it ever comes, when there will not be a great demand for foreign products in Japan, China, Siam and Korea. Our commercial interests must not be kept from the conquest by the reports of retired manufacturers who have made their own fortunes at home and report impressions gained by superficial observations of leisurely travel; by correspondents who come in by

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one door, as it were, and go out by the next; or by alarmists who hold the sixpence of European competition and Asiatic cheap labor so near their eye that they cannot see any good beyond.

In conclusion, a word more can be appropriately said concerning what I would term the "Importance of the Asiatic Opportunity." China is on the point of great development. Such a land cannot remain in material darkness. With her rivers, her plains, her plateaux, her mountains, all suggestive of latent power and possibilities, she is now where the United States was sixty years ago before the era of marvellous advancement. The conditions of race and population are different, but the raw material is there. Japan has on foot gigantic schemes for the further improvement of her land and people, while rich and undeveloped Formosa is awaiting her best efforts. Korea has vast unimproved mineral and agricultural resources. Siam is a garden with only the paths laid out and a fringe of flowers along their sides. And yet the same lands are the home of histories, religions, philosophies and peoples that were ancient before the United States were born.

Curzon in his "Problems of the Far East," and Norman in "The Far East," the latest and most exhaustive works on Eastern Asia, after studying these countries long and carefully, have used stronger language than I have employed. Unless all signs fail, a new era is coming in modern history. A "Pacific Question" is developing apace. The Atlantic must share its glories and power with its sister sea. As the latter is mightier in extent than the former, it may yet be the scene of mightier events in shaping the world's history.

In the new adjustment of international relations and the rearrangement of the world's commerce which must inevitably result, it remains for our country to decide whether its hand will be strong or weak.

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REVIVAL OF OLYMPIAN GAMES.

BY GEORGE HORTON, UNITED STATES CONSUL AT ATHENS.

In the year 393 of our era, the Emperor Theodosius, inspired by a religious zeal which seems mistaken to us to-day, declared the Olympian games forever abolished.

Held on the sacred soil of Elis, they had always been accompanied by solemn offerings to the gods, by processions, sacrifices, and prophecy.

Theodosius had not been able to disconnect athletics from heathenism. The Olympian games are about to be celebrated again on Greek soil, under the auspices of a Christian prince, zealously abetted by a Christian people. For this reason the Panathenaic Stadium is a scene of feverish activity to-day. It is piled with great blocks of Pentelic marble, and its arena is snowy with the fine chips hewn off by an army of chiselers.

The first celebration of the games under the new order will begin on the 24th of March, Old Style, and a programme has been laid out that will consume at least ten days. The excavations carried on in the Stadium in 1873 by his Majesty, King George, paved the way for the present work, and rendered it more easy of speedy accomplishment. Laborers, hired and paid by the King out of his private means, dug away the earth that had washed down from the hills during a thousand years. They laid bare the floor of the spacious amphitheatre, and its sloping sides. The present excavations, necessary for the rebuilding of the Stadium, have resulted in several interesting discoveries.

The amphitheatre in its original state, that is to say, as it came from the hand of nature, was no doubt imperfectly formed for the purpose to which the Athenians adapted it. To begin with, there was simply a long narrow valley between two hills, shallower at one end than at the other. Lycurgus, the orator

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and benefactor of Athens, is said to have laid the foundations of the Stadium. Under his direction we can imagine that the farther end of the ravine was closed up with earth, making it continuous with the sides, and that the whole interior was given symmetrical shape, sloping gradually from the summit to the arena.

On the inclining sides of the ravine the people sat or stood, watching the naked athletes struggling below.

A large proportion of the original seats were cut into the earth itself. One cannot help thinking that they must have been more comfortable than the marble benches afterward supplied by Herodes Atticus.

At the edge of the arena have been exhumed the traces of a low marble wall or border. This bounded on three sides the space devoted to the contests, separating it from a walk that ran all the way round, at the foot of the first row of seats.

Where this border is entirely lost, it has been replaced. The old boundary is easily distinguishable from the new, although an effort at exact reproduction has been made.

The former has taken on that soft, brownish tint which age always gives to Pentelic, while the latter is fresh from the chisel.

According to Dr. Dörpfeld, an interesting discovery has been made in connection with this boundary wall. It seems that it formed in no place a straight line, but that both its longer sides bulged outward, giving it the shape of a huge horseshoe. At the open end of the horseshoe the two hills forming the ravine have been cut square off, and a supporting wall has been reared on either side. Ruins of ancient steps have been exhumed leading up the face of these walls to platforms from which one passed into the second tier of seats.

These steps are being renewed. As in the old days many of the seats were of earth, so now a dividing wall will be run around the sloping sides of the amphitheatre, about half way between their top and bottom, and earthen benches will be cut in the space above.

The only exception to this arrangement is at the half-circle cut off by the goal, where it crosses one end of the arena. Here the seats will be of marble from top to bottom.

The entire lowest row of the amphitheatre, also of marble, is finished. The space between it and the wall where the earthen seats begin, is being temporarily covered with wooden benches.

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Entrance to the Stadium will, with certain restrictions, be free.

All invited foreigners and distinguished guests will be given places, and sections will be reserved for members of trades and professions that have subscribed toward the support of the games.

In the midst of the semi-circular space before mentioned, in its lowest row, are to be set two great thrones of Pentelic marble, modeled after the chair of the Priest in the Theatre of Dionysus.

In these will sit the King and Queen of Greece.

Two smaller thrones are being prepared for Crown Prince Constantine and Princess Sophia.

At the left of the King and Queen will be other marble chairs for the representatives of foreign powers, the President of the Chamber of Deputies, and other important officials.

A seat of honor will also be reserved for George Abéroff, the wealthy Greek of Alexandria, whose munificence has rendered possible the rebuilding of the Stadium. It was he who came to the rescue of the committee with a gift of $600,000 francs at the moment when they found themselves almost reduced to despair for want of funds.

There is no time now to construct marble seats for the entire amphitheatre, but there is a well grounded rumor that Mr. Abéroff does not intend to let his fame rest with the donation already made, but that, after the celebration of the games, he will continue the reconstruction of the Stadium until he leaves it as it was in the time of Herodes Atticus.

What a magnificent sight that will be!

With such a reminder of past glories and prowess continually before them, the Greek youth should again take that interest in athletic sports which has always characterized free and brave peoples.

That the hopes which have been placed in Mr. Abéroff's future intentions are well founded, is proved by the continued interest which he takes in the Stadium and the games. At the last meeting of the committee, held on the 21st of October, the Crown Prince announced that 250,000 francs more had been placed at the committee's disposal by this second Herodes Alticus.

Such munificence is not extraordinary in a modern Greek. Patriotism inspires it, and the Stadium, however magnificent

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when completed, will not look at all out of place in Athens. Though Hellas herself is poor, many of her citizens enrich themselves in foreign lands, and these, with the undying instinct of the old Greeks, either themselves return to their native land and build magnificent homes, or else they send back their money to be expended in the erection of hospitals, industrial schools, colleges, etc.

However much he eat the lotus, the true Greek cannot forget his native land.

For this reason, and because Athens is the focus of Hellenic pride, the bright central spot of regenerated Greece, the City of the Violet Crown has become the fairest town on the shores of the Mediterranean.

The saying of Pausanias, so frequently quoted, that Herodes Atticus nearly exhausted the Pentelic quarries when he rebuilt the Stadium, gives but a vague idea of the real truth. A rough calculation by Dr. Dörpfeld as to the amount of marble actually necessary to reconstruct the seats in the amphitheatre, gives a clearer idea.

The Stadium is 200 metres long on its two sides, and, taking the average measure of the semicircle at the end, we have, in all, 500 metres of length. Say there were forty-five rows of seats, we have 22,500 linear metres, which, according to Dr. Dörpfeld, means about 5,625 cubic metres of marble. To this we must add 400 cubic metres used in the arena itself, giving in all about 6,000 cubic metres. The question of the exhaustion of the quarries suggests a trip to Pentelicon from Athens, one of the easiest and pleasantest excursions possible, and one which no visitor to the games should fail to make.

There are trains leaving the city as early as five o'clock in the morning. We must start not later than seven, if we wish to return before nightfall, and must not forget a well filled lunch basket, for donkey riding and mountain climbing are hungry work.

I went the other day in company with a Nebraska college professor and two ladies. We were soon out of the suburbs of Athens, pulling slowly up the gentle incline of the Attic plain. Passing through the highly cultivated fields, we could not help thinking of the impotent rage of those old Attic farmers who were shut up so long in Athens while the Spartans devastated their lands. I

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had Strepsiades in my mind's eye more than half the time, and I fell to musing over the temptations and troubles which beset him during his unaccustomed city life.

At our left, for much of the distance, the slender stream of the Kephissos wound in and out among tall reeds. Dry much of the year, it was now a brook, owing to recent rains, flowing in a bed wide enough for a river.

The landscape gave the impression rather of a painter's ideal than of the reality of nature. Terra-cotta plowed lands stretched away until they lost themselves in the violet slopes of Parnes.

The mud fences were dove-colored, and green vines ran along their tops. White houses here and there nestled in silver olive groves, and the Bavarian village founded by King Otho looked idyllically peaceful among its dark green vineyards.

At Amarousi, famous for its cold, clear water, we clambered down from the train to start in search of donkeys. This latter trouble was saved us, for a Greek immediately presented himself, and asked if we were going to the quarries. We had no difficulty in understanding him, for the Greek spoken at Amarousi is exceptionally good.

In about ten minutes four long-faced, silken-eared, mild-eyed little animals were brought us, and we were off: through narrow tumble-down streets with projecting balconies, through shady olive orchards embowering the town, through stretches of fragrant purple heather. Finally, when we struck the ruins of the ancient road we felt that we were indeed on our way to the quarries. The traces of the road are very plain, and every now and then you pass blocks and pieces of partly-hewn marble, dropped, perhaps, from some lumbering car two thousand years ago.

Part way up is a well, curbed with Pentelic, which may have furnished water to the men and animals of Herodes Atticus, or perhaps to those of Pericles.

You take your lunch in the quarry at the end of the road. The high walls of rock that rise round you look exactly as though they had been cut down by a great saw. As you sit there you can hear the continual blasting carried on by the workmen who are getting out stone in another part of the hill for the rebuilding of the Stadium.

The new quarries are between the old ones and the town of Kephissia. In ancient days the archæologists tell us holes were

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drilled into the rock, and wooden pegs were driven in. When these were wetted they expanded, and so forced off blocks of the stone. That must have been a slow process. With such means as those the Greeks of to-day would scarcely have been able to get the Stadium ready for the 24th of next March.

The trip to Pentelicon is not complete without an ascent to the summit, which is about two hours distant from the quarries, and must be made on foot. The view thus gained is one of the finest in Greece, but is especially valuable for the glance afforded at the field of Marathon, and its moon-shaped bay in which the Persians drew up their ships. The whole scene of the battle lies below like a panorama.

When we finally left Pentelicon, we were convinced that Pausanias' statement must be taken with a large grain of salt. If this second Herodes Atticus will furnish the money, the old hill may be depended on for marble enough to reconstruct the Stadium.

But the new Stadium will not derive its classic interest alone from Pentelic benches. Traces of the ancient vertical aisles have been found, and the new aisles will be laid upon the foundations of the old.

The statuary used for decoration will be copies of the great masters, with one exception : immediately within the entrance will stand a life-size figure of George Abéroff, done in marble by Broutos, best of modern Greek sculptors. If modesty, therefore, shall keep the new Atticus away from the games, a contingency likely to result from his well-known character, his grateful countrymen will be able to gaze upon a life-like reproduction of his form and features.

Near the goal is the mouth of a tunnel, which pierces the hill and gives exit at its further side. The Committee, following the generally accepted belief as to the ancient use of this tunnel, will make of it a passageway for athletes, judges, etc. The work of cementing its sides and roof is already far advanced. It will be lighted by electricity, and near the exit buildings are to be erected in which the athletes can prepare for the contests, or can bathe and dress after the trial is over.

Finally, on the low wall bounding the arena, an iron railing is to be erected, which will be adorned with Athenian owls.

The preparations which the Committee are making will not be confined to repairs of the Stadium. The beautiful square of

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the Constitution is to be paved and embellished, as well as the broad road leading to the Stadium, which thoroughfare will be supplied with electric lights for its whole length.

The bridge over the Ilissos River, which the road crosses, will be widened. The bed of the classic stream is dry most of the year, but in March a small brook usually flows through the ancient water course. Let us hope that the Committee will remove a few of the hen-coops and unsightly buildings which have replaced the shrines of the Muses.

The men who have thus far been most prominent in the revival of the Olympian games are, besides those already mentioned: Crown Prince Constantine, who, as chairman of the local committee, is devoting his days and nights to the work, and is securing the co-operation of many of the crowned heads of Europe; Baron de Coubertin, of France, whose advocacy of combined mental and physical culture has made him famous in the new world as well as the old; our own Professor Sloane, of Princeton, who divides with Coubertin the honor of having championed the idea in its earliest stages; Demetrius Bikélas, the famous author of "Loukas Laras" and "Tales from the Ægean," whose stamp of approval for any enterprise is sufficient to seal it with the confidence of all his fellow countrymen, and who is Chairman of the International Committee.

Timoleon Philemon, secretary of the local committee, and Eben Alexander, the United States Minister to Greece, deserve a word or two of special mention.

Mr. Philemon was for many years editor of the Athens *Century*, and as such distinguished himself as a writer of pure and elegant Greek. During his busy career he has served as Mayor of Athens, and he was master of ceremonies on the occasion of the Crown Prince's marriage to Sophia, sister of the Emperor of Germany. The experience he gained then will assist him now in his more difficult task of putting Athens in order for the Olympian games.

Mr. Alexander is a graduate of Yale, and is an enthusiast on the subject of athletics. Bicycling is his favorite form of sport, and he frequently takes a run to Phalerum or to the field of Marathon and back. A patriotic American, he will use all his influence to see that his country is well represented at Athens this spring; a broad scholar and an ardent Philhellene, his subscrip-

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tion heads the list of contributions to the games, and he has offered one of the prizes.

The programme will be more varied than it was in ancient times. It will include long and short distance running, jumping, turning, fencing, wrestling, shooting, rowing and yachting, bicycling, swimming, lawn tennis and cricket. This programme, however, is subject to additions. From present indications there will be an immense throng in attendance at the games. Athletic clubs in all countries have signified their intention of sending representatives. Prominent among these is the New York Athletic Club. As this latter organization has recently distinguished itself by a number of record breaking performances, it should carry home more than one olive crown from the Stadium. Judges for the new games are to be selected from the various nationalities represented, but each committee will have a Greek for chairman. King George himself will place upon the heads of the victors silver crowns, made in imitation of the ancient wreaths of wild olive.

Some of the archæologists will doubtless see an incongruous feature in the introduction of such sports as bicycling and lawn tennis at the Olympian games. Let such draw a moral from the history of the games themselves. Were they not limited at first to mere trials of speed and endurance in footracing? Afterwards chariot racing was introduced, throwing the discus, archery, etc., proving that even in classical times physical training kept abreast of the progress of the world.

Would any of the sticklers for classical purity like to see boxing with the cestus revived? An epigram tells us of one boxer who, after a four-hours' bout, was unrecognizable when he returned home, "not only by his dog, but even by his fellow citizens." There will be no pugilism in the Stadium, as the Greek of to-day does not regard it as a civilized sport.

The King of Macedonia, it is said, was compelled to prove himself of pure Hellenic blood before he was allowed to compete at Olympia. The world is too big now for that sort of thing. All of us who love beauty, who have done no impiety or sacrilege, who believe in fair play, and who have stout hearts, are Greeks in the highest sense.

GEORGE HORTON.

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OUR FOREIGN TRADE AND OUR CONSULAR SERVICE.

BY CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER.

WHY are we beaten by England and Germany in our competition for the trade of Central and South America, and in other markets where our skill and the quality of our goods should give us better fortunes?

A casual remark in a popular periodical some months ago, which attributed our failure in this respect largely to our inefficient consular service, brought upon me correspondence from consuls and from business men, which induced me to give the subject more serious study, by examining consular reports and consulting manufacturers. Since this correspondence was provoked there has appeared an executive order in regard to the service which puts a new aspect upon the matter, and appears to be a firm step in a radical reform. The subject is of so much importance to our national prosperity that I trust a slight review of it will not be inopportune. This extension of our export trade can conveniently be considered under three heads:

1. The Consular Service.
2. The Action of Manufacturers, Merchants and Exporters.
3. The Active Interest of the Government.

1. The Consular Service. The Executive order of September 20, 1895, provided, in the words of the President's last annual message:

> "That after that date any vacancy in a consulate or commercial agency, with an annual salary or compensation from officials of not more than $2,500, or less than $1,000, should be filled either by transfer or promotion from some other position under the Department of State, of a character tending to qualify the incumbent for the position to be filled; or by the appointment of a person not under the Department of State, but having pre

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viously served under and shown his capacity and fitness for consular duty: or by the appointment of a person who, having been selected by the President and sent to a board for examination, is found, upon such examination, to be qualified for the position. Posts which pay less than $1,000 being usually, on account of their small compensation, filled by selection from residents of the locality, it was not deemed practicable to put them under the new system. The compensation of $2,500 was adopted as the maximum limit in the classification for the reason that consular officers receiving more than that sum are often charged with functions and duties scarcely inferior in dignity and importance to those of diplomatic agents, and it was, therefore, thought best to continue their selection in the discretion of the executive without subjecting them to examination before a board. Excluding seventy-one places with compensation at present less than $1,000, and fifty-three places above the maximum in compensation, the number of positions remaining within the scope of the order is 196."

A board of examiners is appointed to carry out this order, which it is desired that Congress should supplement and improve by legislation. Consular inspectors are also recommended. This is a brave beginning, and if it is seconded by intelligent public opinion, it may lead to a consistent, organized consular system. It will no doubt be found that permanent appointments to the service, as a rule, with a few outlandish exceptions, should extend to officers paid less than $1,000, because these very offices are training schools in which young men can learn their business; and it is imperative that the offices paying more than $2,500 should be open to the ambition and reward of all in the service, it being a life service with promotion for ability and assignments to the more important posts according to fitness. The question of a permanent systematized service has been often argued, but it will bear restating.

The consul is a business officer, without diplomatic functions except in a few cases; he has nothing to do with politics. That he should be intelligent and patriotic—thoroughly American in sympathy—goes without saying. But to be efficient he must also have business training, experience of consular duties, and special fitness for the locality to which he is sent. It is a business to be learned like any other, and it will not be learned unless it offers a regular career to the aspirants for it. No business man in the world, no corporation, would undertake to carry on enterprises with agents selected on account of political services, and liable to be periodically displaced by other agents selected in like manner. Many good men get consulates through political influence, but in the slight tenure of their office they no sooner get a little fitted

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for their work than they are thrown out by an election, turned back into politics to scramble for another place, and their places are filled with green men. The statement of our plan shows its absurdity. That we do not get as good service as other nations get is not due to our want of native ability in our appointees, but to the instability of tenure. If all our present appointees, with some weeding out, were trained into an organized service, with expectation of promotion, and a life career, we should have in ten years an admirable service; that is, if the appointees were compelled to have a business training in their occupation, and to become familiar with the languages of the posts they occupy.

Up to the present time appointments are made very often of men who can neither read, write nor speak the language of the countries to which they are sent. The consequence is that the business of the offices must be done by subordinates who are foreigners, and sometimes by inferior men who will work for small pay. The consuls are compelled to rely upon these foreigners for information upon all subjects and for nearly every official act they perform. There are many American consular offices on the Continent, and doubtless elsewhere, that could not run a day except for the aid of these foreign assistants. These subordinates are commonly permanent, and they practically have control of the offices. They have control because the consuls are ignorant of the local language, and can only get information of our commercial and business relations second hand. It would be interesting to know how many of our statistical consular reports are really the work of foreign clerks. This may or may not be a criticism of them, but it would be more satisfactory to know that our own men were competent to make them.

We have men in the consular service fully as bright and alert and every way competent as consuls in the German, French or English service, and probably they are less liable to get into a rut. But, allowing for this, the service of many other nations is more efficient than ours because it is systemized and permanent, and because promotion depends at every step upon efficiency. And the *esprit de corps* counts for much. But it must be added that no service is really good that is not constantly watched and weeded. The tests of fitness cannot all be applied at the entrance.

Granted the necessity of an organized service, how shall appointments be made? Objection is made to admission by

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"examinations." The objection is partly but not altogether political. For it is true that capacities often exist that no examination will show, and that mere book-learning and ability to answer test questions may exist with a poor character and want of practical ability in affairs. But we must have some system. The alternative to examination is political favor. We know how uncertain a test of capacity that is. Examination, a proper examination fitted to the service required, will show at least two things: general intelligence, and knowledge of languages. It will be admitted without argument that a consul should know the language of the country to which he is sent. Admission by examination, as in England, is the democratic method. No class is favored, no game of politics is played. Every poor lad in England who has ability has as good a chance for the service as the rich or the aristocracy. It should be so in America.

Examination, to be sure, is not everything. The candidate should go into a subordinate clerkship on probation to learn his business. If he is incompetent he should be dropped. But if he develops capacity and does good service he should be promoted, and have a tenure during good behavior. And at the end of a life service he should be pensioned. This is a clear perquisite of any moderately paid life service to the state. We should have no difficulty in appending this to our consular service, if we were not now loaded down almost to the sinking point with unnecessary war pensions.

The replies of the consuls in regard to the causes of our lack of foreign trade are various, as will appear in selections from their reports, but they have no doubt that in its *personnel* it is as good as any other. The duty of the consul, it is said, is primarily to see that our government is not cheated in the value of its importations, to take care of the government property, and to relieve distressed seamen and travellers. Incidentally it is to encourage the sale of American products. That success in this last respect is not greater is not the fault of the consuls, but arises from quite other causes, one of them being the strange indifference of American manufacturers and exporters to the specific directions for increasing their trade in different countries conveyed in the consular reports. Another prime cause is one that is also referred to by manufacturers and exporters and that

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is lack of sufficient and regular transportation between our ports and those of Central and South America. Other correspondents censure our government for lack of interest in our foreign trade and failure to encourage regular lines of communication. Other governments, it is said, interest themselves in the matter and take active measures to assist the merchants by fostering regular steamship communication. The English and German lines are paid by their respective governments for carrying the mails a sufficient sum to insure their permanence, and the merchants can establish agencies with a certainty that their trade will not languish for want of communication. The policy of our government is exactly the reverse of this; our mail service is conducted with the single idea of cheapness and we have only uncertain communication with our South American neighbors.

It is argued that an attempt should be made to arouse manufacturers and exporters to intelligent, vigorous and united action. It is easy to grumble; it requires study and well-directed enterprise to attack the problem as the inhabitants and governments of England and Germany attack it. The *laissez faire* method will not solve it, any more than that will remove the financial and moral plague-spot in our national life—the greenback and legal-tender monstrosity.

It is true that the stimulation of our exports is only one of the duties of a consul, and an incidental duty, but it has come to be regarded as very important. It is also true that our service has greatly improved in the past fifteen years—that I think is a matter of general observation. The character of the consular reports shows this. The extracts from them published monthly are of great value, full of statistical information, suggestions as to our economic legislation, and in detail instructive to our manufacturers and traders as to the kind of goods wanted in the various markets, and as to the best means of reaching those markets. Given a fair chance of training and system, I believe our service would speedily surpass all others in enterprise and the application of common sense, in inventiveness and shrewdness.

2. The Action of Manufacturers and Exporters. The consuls can give information about markets, about the kind of goods wanted and most likely to sell; they can encourage trade, but they cannot create it. The initiative must be with our own manufacturers and traders. They must understand the market,

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they must make the goods suited to it (which may differ from the goods suited to the American market) if they really want the market, and they must have active agents on the ground, and they must find means of sending on their products regularly.

The charge is made that our manufacturers are sluggish, and show lack of intelligent enterprise in this matter. They seem to be waiting for some circumstance, some action of the government may be, to open the way for them. They are ingenious and inventive, they improve processes, and make better and better goods at a lower cost of manufacture, but their energies seem to stop at the point of delivery. The English, on the contrary, understand that a part of their business is to find and create markets. And the government seconds them in this; its action is even stigmatized as the "Manchester policy." But the manufacturers take the initiative. One of the most notable things in the English Industrial Midland is the thought and the energy spent on getting markets. Goods are made to suit the tastes and traditions of all sorts of civilizations and all sorts of barbarisms. And both these specialties and the regular English goods are pushed upon the world. Agents, travellers, drummers are sent everywhere, the English consuls are made to be active in promoting trade, and steamship lines, established by private enterprise, go regularly to every part of the globe. When these are established the government at once adopts the lines and sustains them by a liberal grant for carrying the mails regularly. The English are not only lively manufacturers, they are resourceful merchants as well. They are pushers in small things as well as great. The London tailors and boot-makers, when they get a foreign customer follow him up, they constantly solicit his orders, they send agents and establish in central points offices to get orders.

Germany, in late years, is scarcely second in this endeavor. The German success, in the exhibit of machinery at Chicago, has stimulated the manufacturers and the leading technical and scientific journals to new efforts. Highly educated agents of manufacturers are to be sent out, to Africa as well as to South America, to study the export question, to report on the wants of special markets, and to drum up trade. This will cost money. No single firm could stand the expense. A multitude of manufacturers, therefore, club together, sharing the responsibility and the

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cost, and the profits in case of success. The reports are the common property of the subscribers. It is now a veritable movement. The government at once expressed a lively interest and promised aid. As long ago as 1893 nineteen firms, representing 7,506 workmen, had subscribed. The details of this movement are interesting, but a hint of it ought to be sufficient for our enterprising people, whose ingenuity is always pushing them on to what is called over production. We can make just as good machines as any people in the world, indeed the American machine is, we verily believe, the best in the world. But the point here is that we should make what the markets demand. A consular report from Chemnitz says: "Let us give the South Americans such shapes as they prefer, but finished as we finish. There is nothing made in England or Germany in the machine or tool line that we cannot make as good or better. If the South American prefers plain to polished, heavy to light, rough to smooth, let him have them. It is much easier to sell a man what he thinks he wants than it is to sell him what we think he ought to buy. Our hammers, hatchets, axes, spades, shovels, planes, augers, bits, patent stocks and bits, wringers, sewing and washing machines, hair-cutters, and tools of every profession and description should beat not only Germany's but England's, in every South American city and market. There is no good reason why, with our improved methods and our well-known superior machinery and quicker workmanship, we should not make them as cheap. I know we can produce them better. Let us also, then, send out engineer agents—men trained in mechanics, and able to speak Spanish, French, or other languages. Let them carry catalogues and commissions to sell anything from a paper of pins to a Corliss engine. Let our manufacturers, emulating the Germans, unite to pay the expenses. Let great efforts be concentrated in places offering a market."

In regard to this German movement it is to be noticed that the German government is making an innovation in its consular service. One report from Bamberg says: "There is no doubt that the German consuls by profession—the appointment of honorary consular officers being now gradually on the decline in Germany—are to be regarded as the foremost pioneers in the service of German commerce. However, it must not be forgotten that they are aided in their efforts by the various industrial branches themselves, whereas American consular officers receive

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but little support of that nature. As long as American firms whose products would, in all probability, find a ready sale in European markets, fail to secure such territory by means of capable representatives, the unaided efforts of a consular officer would meet with small success."

Take the case of San Salvador. American goods there have the highest reputation; the English and German goods are inferior but they are cheaper. The consuls think that we are at disadvantage owing to our short credit system and our lack of transportation facilities, which produces the anomalous result of cheaper freight rates from European than from American ports. With lower freights our goods could be sold cheaper.

A curious illustration of our unsystematic and careless handling of export goods is in the cotton trade. In comparison with the Egyptian and Indian bales, the American is so badly packed as to cause great loss; the covers burst and the cotton is scattered, or stolen, or badly damaged by rain and mud. The Consul at Chemnitz exhibits photographs of the appearance of bales that arrive there. The Egyptian and Indian are solid and in good order; the American is in a very disorganized condition. This causes just complaint.

In Peru, England, Germany and other European countries walk away with the bulk of the trade that might be ours. Peru has one of the most genial climates in the world, and unlimited resources for producing sugar, cotton, coffee, rice, petroleum, salts, etc., etc. It would be a most profitable country for us to cultivate. Why do we not have its trade? The consul, passing by considerations of our economic policy, says: "The failure of the American people and government to provide easy, cheap and quick transportation for mails, freights and travel must, however, be largely accountable for this condition." Take one illustration: "San Francisco mails are carried to New Orleans in less than five days. As steamships can go from New Orleans to Colon in less than four days, it follows that San Francisco fast mails could be conveyed that way to Panama in nine days. It now takes the San Francisco mails twenty-two days to reach Panama by the Pacific Mail steamers." From Callao to Colon is 1,600 miles, from Colon to New Orleans 1,370, or 2,970 in all. From Callao to Colon 1,600, from Colon to New York 2,026, or 3,626 in all. From Callao to Colon 1,600, from Colon to principal

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European ports 5,500, or 7,100 in all. "With an enterprise worthy of imitation, some seventy European steamers ply regularly between European ports and Colon. Among these a Liverpool line has steamers which on their return trip stop at New Orleans to complete cargo, but which, on their way out, do not stop at New Orleans. The effect is obvious. New Orleans, the nearest American seaport—which is the natural outlet of the great valleys of the Missouri, the Mississippi and the Ohio—is left undisturbed in its strange isolation from the South American countries on the Pacific Ocean." The whole report, dated Callao, February, 1894, is worth the attention of all our manufacturers and exporters.

We are at an equal disadvantage in the trade with Uruguay. Here also, the first question to be settled is that of transportation. But there are other considerations. Our manufacturers do not make the effort that the Europeans constantly put forth. "Let the American merchant and manufacturer be just as accommodating as his European competitor in the manufacture and get-up of his goods, in the terms of sale and the way he places his goods before the trade. Let him adopt the *modus operandi*—or rather improve upon it if he can—of his competitors." They have no objection to American raw material, but they unitedly work against American manufactured goods. Another suggestion is that there shall be an American bank in Uruguay. Nearly all the business is done through foreign banks—English chiefly. We are paying England a tribute on the business we are doing in that country.

Attention is called also to Para, a city that commands 50,000 miles of navigable rivers which float and extend her trade, and flow through one of earth's richest valleys. Here is a splendid field for our enterprise. But here again, is almost absolute lack of regular transportatiou by sea. "The only articles of which we have a monopoly in Para are flour, lumber and kerosene; whereas we should be supplying all the cotton goods, instead of the very small proportion we now send there. The universal cry of men representing American houses at Para is that our manufacturers will not comply with the demands of the market, while English, French and German manufacturers accede to every demand." Greatly needed are wholesale distributing houses and banking facilities.

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With friendly Venezuela, better disposed to us than any other power, there is no excuse for the want of energy in our merchants and manufacturers in regard to occupying the inviting field. Here, however, a consular report furnishes an illustration of the effect of the vacillation in our economic legislation. Our exports to Venezuela, the consul testifies, bear a direct relation to our imports of her products. In 1891 she sent us products to the value of $8,000,000 (gold). This was paid for by purchase of merchandise in the United States instead of in Europe. The situation underwent a change when it was announced that duties would be levied on Venezuelan products. Maracaibo coffee—the best in the republic—was unknown in Europe. It all went to the United States, and was paid for by American products. With the change in legislation this coffee was thrown upon European markets, and much of the merchandise heretofore had from the United States was purchased in Europe. Our trade steadily decreased, and when, later, "the duties were finally removed and Venezuelan coffee was again permitted free entry," a tenth only of the Venezuelan berry that we formerly received entered our ports. It will take years to recover our trade lost in this one item. But our traders cannot too soon be on hand to take advantage of the expiration of the European contracts. These examples illustrate the situation. It is not one of which Americans can be proud. In regard to foreign trade, our country seems, in comparison with foreign countries, an inert mass, waiting for something to turn up. If our manufacturers and merchants showed the same energy, the same intelligence, the same adaptability to the market in foreign that they show in domestic trade, we should fear no competition. We go on inventing and making the best goods in the world, but when it comes to delivery we seem to be paralyzed. We seem content with our superior products, hoping that the world will find out how good they are, and come and buy. With our skill and increasing capital, the day has come when we make more goods than the home market can consume. This condition of what we call over-production will be intensified year by year. But we have no right to whine about over-production so long as we are supine in seeking markets for our products. The consuls complain that their reports of the foreign situation are not read or not heeded by our manufacturers and exporters. Some German traders complain that they cannot deal directly

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with our manufacturers as they wish to do. They are turned over to miscellaneous commission houses.

It seems to be the opinion of some manufacturers, who do not make an effort to establish means of communication, as the English do, that the South American game is not worth the candle. Their governments and policies are so shifting and uncertain that it is difficult to establish satisfactory relations among them. The Southern dealers require longer credits than are agreeable, and have slack business habits very unprofitable to conform to. Other nations, especially Germany, continually imitate the first-class American goods, produce inferior and cheaper qualities, and counterfeit our trade-marks. The Americans have an honorable reluctance to lower the standard of their products below the American standard. They also complain of want of government encouragement of transportation, but they complain still more of our fluctuating economic and financial policy, of the frequent changes in duties, the establishment and withdrawal of reciprocities, and a general unsettled action in which in the matter of trade and investment of capital and establishment of foreign agencies no foresight will avail. Not English, French or German traders have to contend with such an uncertainty.

3. The Active Interest of the Government. By this I do not refer to its discriminating economic legislation, nor to the complete organization of the consular service. There are other legitimate methods by which the government can encourage and promote trade without going beyond its province. They are modern, to be sure, but they are sanctioned by the most conservative governments in the enterprising nations, by France, England and Germany. A brief description of their nature would be that they bring the governments of the country into close and sympathetic touch with the industries, the trade, and commerce of their countries. This is an industrial age, and in response to this the action of government in its foreign relations must be quite as much concerned with industrial as with diplomatic problems.

It is agreed on all hands, by the testimony of manufacturers, merchants, and consular agents, that a chief cause of our unsatisfactory trade, as has been said, especially with the nations south of us, is a lack of easy, frequent, regular steam communication. It is clearly not the business of the government to run

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steamships, any more than it is to build warehouses. Steam communication must come from private initiative. But when any line promoting the business of the country is established, it is quite within the wisdom and duty of the government, touching its customs receipts, its internal revenue, to aid the country in being prosperous by liberal payment to all such lines for carrying the mails. All wise governments do this, whether their general policy be free trade, fair trade, or protection. It is good business.

A second method of aiding our industries and our trade with foreign ports is indicated in a sentence quoted in one of our consular reports from the *Revue de Commerce Exterieur* of October, 1893: "The obligation of the State to give information to merchants as to the methods to be pursued in order to open foreign markets to French products." This would involve the use of our consular service in procuring information, its publication, and its distribution. The Germans are alive to the value of this work, and the government actively co-operates with the manufacturers and traders in it. Our own government is not blind to this. The character of our own consular reports has vastly improved in this respect in the last few years. Besides giving mere statistics, which always need an explanation, the consuls study causes of the lack of trade, tell how it can be improved, and speak of the resources of the country and the tastes of the people they are accredited to. Not all these reports are valuable or trustworthy, because many of those who make them lack training and experience, but month by month our government prints a mass of information of the greatest interest to our business men. So far as a stranger can judge, our bureau of statistics selects wisely and prints judiciously and liberally.

But there is evidence that these reports are unheeded (so some of the consuls complain), and they probably are not widely read, and do not fall into the hands of business men who would profit by them. It needs to establish a more sympathetic connection between the officials at Washington and the business men and interests of the country. As I understand it, our government publishes this information and that ends its concern. The merchants want reports that contain practical information, precise data, as to what can be done and how it can be done, and not dry statistics such as would suit a writer on economics. The consuls can be trained to give these. But how shall the facts

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reach business men? Whether it is owing to the neglect or obtuseness of the business public or to the government bureau, there is a defect in the communication of this information. A manufacturer or exporter cannot, or thinks he cannot, keep the run of all the literature on this subject. But every week or every day, he wants precise, definite information on some particular point, as to some port of trade. How can he get it? The *Revue* suggests this plan: "A set of employees constantly occupied in making abstracts of French official and foreign reports and newspapers and in extracting from them whatever would interest our commerce. Another group to inscribe those abstracts or the indication of their origin (the original being carefully classified) upon cards which should be always accessible. Finally, a third group whose duty it should be to answer inquiries, either verbally or in writing. Thanks to the cards these answers could be easy and that which would be furnished would be real information. Extracts from these indications would be forwarded to the chambers of commerce, the syndicate chambers, the exportation companies, and by this means French commerce could be usefully informed."

I am incapable of judging of the value of this as a practical plan. I quote it to emphasize the defect of which we are all conscious. But in considering this whole subject of government aid to trade, it must not be forgotten that the initiative is to come from the people themselves. Given a competent consular service, and legitimate encouragement in transportation, they must work out their own salvation.

CHAS. DUDLEY WARNER.

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WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH THE EXCISE QUESTION?

BY THE HON. WARNER MILLER.

THE evils of free, or unregulated, trade in alcoholic beverages are universally acknowledged; in every civilized government the traffic is controlled, or regulated, by law. The object of the regulation is to lessen the evils of a trade, which no government has been able to successfully prohibit.

Whether the craving of man for stimulating drinks is natural, or artificial, need not be discussed here. The demand for alcoholic liquors, in some form, is universal, and the laws for its suppression and regulation are greater, in number and variety, than all other laws affecting the social life of man. Such laws have generally taken one of two forms, either that of absolute prohibition, or of regulation and control through excise, or license laws. Prohibition has been tried, and proved a failure, except in a few States in which there are no large cities. I propose to consider, briefly, only the question of the license system, and to inquire what plan will probably produce the best results.

The first question that presents itself is: What form of license will minimize the evils of the trade?

Second. How can such law be most effectually enforced, without trespassing upon the rights of the individual citizen?

Third. What fee, or rate of license, will best advance the end sought, of lessening the evils of the business, and at the same time bring the largest possible returns to the State, or municipality?

In considering these questions, it is not wise to indulge in theories as to what law might prove the most effectual, under imaginary conditions; but rather to confine ourselves to an examination of the laws, which in some of the States have been found to

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work well, and, after a trial of a number of years, have received the general approval of the people.

The present law of the State of New York does not seem to meet with the approval of any class of our citizens. It is difficult to understand why it does not meet with the approval of the liquor dealers themselves, because, under it, their numbers are larger, in proportion to the population, than in any other State, and the average fees are less. It certainly does not meet with the approval of any of the people who desire to see the business thoroughly under control, and the law uniformly enforced. The chief fault of the New York law is that it keeps the excise question constantly in politics, both locally and in the State at large. The law does not fix the license fee, but between a very low minimum, and a moderate maximum, it leaves each locality free to make the rate what it likes. This leads to contests at each election of excise commissioners, the voters being divided—some favoring the maximum rate, and some the minimum, and some being opposed to any license at all. The result is the low rate usually wins. The law should fix the rate absolutely, making grades for cities of the first and second class, for the third class, for villages, and for the country districts, leaving no discretion whatever with the Excise Board.

The law fails to make proper provisions for its enforcement. In the cities, the police are required to make arrests for violation of the law, but they do not enforce the law, unless constantly urged to do so by the Police Commissioners, or those in authority. There is a constant temptation for the police to sell protection to the dealers ; in other words to levy blackmail. When the police do perform their duty and make arrests, there is great delay in the courts, and many cases are never tried at all, as the records in the District Attorney's office prove. In the rural districts the enforcement of the law is left, mostly, to the voluntary act of the private citizen in making complaints. The private citizen does not like to incur the danger of acting as a detective, in making complaints against his neighbor; consequently, few complaints are made, and the law is constantly violated. It frequently happens that a community is aroused at the open and flagrant violation of the law; then the citizens make common cause, by the organization of law and order leagues, which assume the responsibility of seeking out violators of the law and pun-

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ishing them. There should be no necessity of this; the law should furnish adequate means for its enforcement, by making it the duty of certain officers to enforce it, and provide severe penalties for all officers who fail to do their full duty in the matter.

The New York law has resulted in producing from two to four times as many saloons as there is any proper demand for; it has created and encouraged the "dive," the place where criminals of both sexes congregate, to plan and commit crime. These dives are the rendezvous of the most notorious criminals in all our cities; they should be closed, and completely destroyed by the strong arm of the law. The remedy for this condition of affairs is to reduce the number of saloons, by at least one-half, and to close the dives, by making the license fee so large that they cannot exist. This would put the business in the hands of responsible parties, whose own interest will be to obey the law, and to aid the officers of the law in fully enforcing it. I believe that this result can be best obtained by a high license law, limiting the number of places licensed to one for each five hundred, or more, of population. Several of the States have laws of this character, and they have been found to give most satisfactory results. The Laws of Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts, contain many provisions which the State of New York might copy with advantage.

The Pennsylvania law is known as the Brooks High License Law. It has been in operation some seven or eight years and has given very general satisfaction. It provides a license fee of one thousand dollars ($1,000.00) in cities of the first and second class, and five hundred dollars ($500.00) in cities of the third class, proportionately reducing the rates for villages and country districts. The granting of licenses, instead of being given to excise or license boards, is confined to the Courts, and the granting of licenses is made with all the formalities of a court proceeding. Notice of application must be filed in advance, and a day fixed for a hearing, when any person opposed to the granting of the license may appear, and be heard. The Court has absolute discretion as to the granting of licenses; it may grant any number, or it may refuse to grant any at all; and it may reject an application upon any ground that seems sufficient to the Court itself. The law does not fix the number of licenses to be granted in proportion to the population; it leaves the matter entirely in the hands of the Court. The result has been that, in Philadel-

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phia, the number of licensed places has been reduced by two-thirds. When the law went into effect, the number of licenses in Philadelphia was about six thousand; now it is about seventeen hundred. The police records of the Criminal Courts show a large diminution in the number of arrests for drunkenness, and other crimes growing out of the use of liquor.

Two of the most important provisions of the law relate to its enforcement. All police officers and constables are required to make a thorough examination of their respective districts, and to report to the Court, at least once a month, all places in their jurisdiction which have licenses (whether they have violated their license or not), and also all places found selling liquor without a license. The Court is required to see that these reports are made, and if any officer is found derelict in the performance of his duty he is first suspended from duty by the Court, the District Attorney is notified, and the officer is indicted and tried; if found guilty, he is removed from office, fined and imprisoned. This provision dispenses with the necessity of the private citizen taking action in the matter, and puts the responsibility of the enforcement of the law where it belongs—upon the officers themselves. The law also provides that any licensee convicted of violating this law shall have his license revoked, and shall not again be licensed. The result is that scarcely any complaints are made of the violation of the law by the licensees. The practical workings of this law are such, that the evils of the business have been reduced to a minimum, and it has met with the general approval of the people to such an extent that neither of the two great political parties ventures to recommend its change or repeal.

The Massachusetts law differs from the Pennsylvania law by providing for a vote in each town, as to whether licenses shall be granted or not; and it provides that only one license shall be granted for each one thousand of the population, except in the city of Boston, where one may be granted for each five hundred of the population. It grades licenses to be granted into six classes. The first class is a license to sell liquors of all kinds; the second, to sell malt liquors, cider and light wines; the third, to sell malt liquors and cider only; the fourth, fifth, and sixth classes apply to wholesale dealers and druggists. The fee for licenses of the first class is fixed at not less than one thousand dollars; and for the second and third classes at not less than two

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hundred and fifty dollars. Each community is left free to make the fee as much larger than this as it sees fit to do. The penalties, for violating the provisions of the license, include both a fine and imprisonment, and also the forfeiture of the license and the disqualification of the licensee to receive another license within one year's time. This law has given very general satisfaction in Massachusetts, it having taken the place of a former prohibitory law, which it was found impossible to successfully enforce.

I believe a modification of these two systems—first, providing for a high license; second, making a distinction between the selling of spirituous and malt liquors by providing a higher rate for spirituous than malt liquors; and lastly, providing substantially the Pennsylvania method of enforcement by making it the duty of certain officers to constantly watch the traffic and report to the courts, and by providing that all penalties for violation of the license shall carry with it a revocation of the license itself—would give New York the best law possible under present conditions.

WARNER MILLER.

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LIQUOR AND LAW.

BY THE RIGHT REV. WILLIAM CROSWELL DOANE, BISHOP OF ALBANY.

HAVING said, under a sense of very strong obligation, some words in regard to the legislation in this State on the subject of excise, I feel bound to make my meaning clearer; the more so, because what I said has attracted larger attention and wider comment than I supposed it would.

The object of my speaking at first, was to impress upon the clergy my deep sense of their duty to deal with the question of temperance on its three sides: first, the frightful sin of excess; secondly, the influence of the liquor traffic in demoralizing and debauching politics and public office; and thirdly, its tendency towards the desecration of the Lord's Day.

The public press has naturally dealt chiefly with what was really incidental, namely, my suggestion as to the abolishing of our present excise system. And, naturally, too, what I said briefly, has been in some instances misunderstood. The suggestion laid no claim to originality, and was not proposed as a panacea to cure the evil of drunkenness; which, as a sin, can only be dealt with, like any other sin, by moral and spiritual forces. When I said that "wine and beer and spirits were articles of commerce just as much as milk and beef and bread," I was speaking merely of their *commercial* side. There is, of course, a moral element in this consideration, which cannot be omitted from any large and thorough view of the subject. There is a moral element, to a degree, in the other articles of food, because gluttony is the same sin as drunkenness. But there is far graver danger attending the *sale*, because there is far greater danger attending the *use*, of liquor. I am convinced that neither excise laws nor prohibitory laws eliminate or even lessen the

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danger. It is neither the sale nor the use of the liquor, which is to be prevented or patronized by the State. It is the abuse of it with which the State is concerned; and that ought to be dealt with, as other crimes are dealt with, in the penal code.

Meanwhile, the working of the excise law in my experience is this: The sale of liquor is taken under the peculiar patronage of the State. The State makes money out of it; and the liquor dealers assume a position of peculiar importance, as though they were a privileged class. The State is governed by the Legislature elected by the people; and the Legislature is chosen by and composed of politicians: and here are these two parties, the manufacturers and sellers and drinkers of liquor, with their enormous influence, *and* the makers of the law which must affect the liquor interest under our present system. And men being fallible and weak, it inevitably follows, first, that the liquor-interest will set itself at work to secure the kind of legislators that they want; and secondly, that the legislators, so elected, and so wanting to be re-elected, will gratify the expectations of the people whose influence elected them. The whole thing seems to me a premium on bad legislation. If the liquor dealers had no use for the legislators, and the legislators no use for the liquor dealers, we should get better legislation. I have watched and worked over this question in the New York Legislature for twenty years, and I only give the outcome of my own experience.

The details of what should be done, in the framing of a new law and the adoption of a new system, are beyond my knowledge or my responsibility; but, while I suppose the saloon would remain to a certain extent a power in politics, it would be shorn of some of its power and some of its assumption, if it did not stand in the relation of peculiar privilege to the State.

The question in which I am especially concerned is the question of open saloons on Sunday. If the saloon keepers had not been lifted up on a superior plane, they would not dare to take the attitude they do take now. It has been thought right in the State of New York, since ever it was a State, to close *all* selling places on Sunday, and to allow the sale of actually necessary things only up to 10 o'clock. This is not a religious question; it is a question of humanity. The religious question regards the *holiness* of the day. Quite apart from this is the human question, the question of health, the question of proved necessity, the *rest*

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of the day. And the demand comes to violate this, to keep one kind of shop open and one set of men at work; and the kind of shop is the most dangerous kind of shop; the shop where the week's earnings will be wasted; the shop where the tired worker up to Saturday night will unfit himself for the work which is to begin on Monday; the shop out of which proceed the brawls and quarrels which destroy the day of rest and desecrate the day of holiness, and fill the Monday courts and the Monday prisons with criminals. It seems to me an insult to the intelligence of our American civilization. And it seems strange to me that the men who toil with their hands should fail to see that, under the pretense of giving them certain freedom for certain things on Sunday, this is the entering wedge for binding upon them the bondage of seven days work in a week. Once granted that a community has the right to keep one set of men at work, except in cases of recognized necessity, and one kind of shops open, on Sunday, and the first step has been taken toward making Sunday a general working day.

If it is said, "This is an interference with personal liberty," the answer is that personal liberty has to be interfered with if the person is doing wrong to himself or to his neighbor.

If, again, it is said that it makes unfair discrimination among classes, the answer is, that if this refers to clubs, there is no question but that the open bar of the club-house ought to be closed on Sundays, as much as the open bar of the saloon. But if it means to deprive the owners and members of a club of eating and drinking in their club-house on Sunday, then the argument proves too much, because that is in the nature of what a man does in his own house, whether rich or poor, and that the law does not touch.

If it be said that if a community desires to have saloons open they ought to be allowed to vote upon it, the answer is, that this is what is called "local option," and local option is well enough in reference to things about which there is *option*. If a community, for instance, should vote, as it does sometimes, that it will have no saloons, no place where liquor can be bought at retail at any time, it has the right to do it; and another community may vote just the other way. This is a question of expediency and choice. But I submit that no more dangerous theory was ever advanced or advocated, than that of giving a

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community the right to vote directly or by indirection on the question of Sunday sales of anything. Here is a principle primæval, immemorial, fundamental. It is not a question of religion merely or mainly. If a community can vote to have liquor sold on Sunday, it can vote to have green-groceries sold, markets open, mechanics compelled to work. The poor man, the man who works with his hands, cannot be blind enough not to see this. He may want his glass of beer badly, but he had better buy it on Saturday night, and drink it stale or go without it, than fall into the fatal error of fancying that it is *only* a glass of beer. It is a question of six days' work or seven days' work in a week. It is a question of breaking down the only barrier that exists between him and the cruel greed of his employer.

Local option on the observance of the Day of Rest, so that one community shall have it and another not? Why not local option on the sacredness of marriage, so that any given community may legalize adultery by a majority at the polls? Why not local option on any one of the plain revelations of God's will, as they are incorporated into the laws of all Christian states? It is most earnestly to be desired that thoughtful people will think this matter *out* to the width of its reaches, and *down* to the depth of its meaning. There are some things about which there is no choice, except the deliberate choosing to disobey the law of God, which underlies all law. No majority vote, no legislation, no interpretation, can make that *law*, which is against Law as God has laid it down. There can be no personal or local option (which means choice) recognized or legalized which violates God's revealed law. So the conclusion of this matter is plain; first, that the law of the one day of rest in seven is broken by the opening of any places of merchandise, except for the necessities of life; and, secondly, that no majority of voters can make lawful that which is against the law of God. It is a base perversion of the words of Christ to make His saying, "The Sabbath was made for man," mean that it was made for man to do with as he pleases, or to do away with it if he pleases. It *was* made for man. It is his divine right, his inalienable heritage, his immemorial privilege; and to palter with it, to barter it for a mess of pottage or a glass of liquor, is to sell the birthright of the "sons of Adam, who are the sons of God."

WM. CROSWELL DOANE.

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THE FUTURE LIFE AND THE CONDITION OF MAN THEREIN.—III.

BY THE RIGHT HONORABLE W. E. GLADSTONE.

II.—MAN'S CONDITION IN THE FUTURE LIFE.

I.—The Opinion of Natural Immortality.

THE subject of belief in a future state during the pre-historic and early historic ages affords a spectacle of piteous interest. Mankind, after the lapse into sin, still yearns for the fulfillment of the hopes, once bright and healthful, now impaired and mangled; yet shrinks back in dread from a future which his conscience clothes with terrors, and the prospect beyond the grave is enveloped in such gloom that he clings rather to the brief but often sunny days of his earthly existence.

But the abstract idea of a future life is the mere skeleton of a great subject, which only becomes clothed in flesh and blood, when we introduce into it all the incidents which do or may belong to the condition of man. "Unconditioned possibility" is the description which a powerful writer of our own day has given of the unseen world. The total and sudden rending asunder of the portions of our complex nature, now so closely knit into one another, is a change such that a vast portion of those who have to undergo it never seriously contemplate or mentally apprehend; but when the vision is firmly fixed upon it, there is need, in order to face it, either of profound apathy or of powerful stimulants, or of a great internal strength inherent or acquired. Nature inspires the love of life, cries out against being torn to pieces, and rarely can be brought to accept the idea of pure extinction. The act of dying, which has to be performed by the least among men, is the greatest act in the entire experience of the greatest. The literature of classical antiquity

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nowhere makes such piercing calls upon our sympathy as when it laments a beloved object, or mournfully records the inevitable destiny of the race. It is not that the ancients greatly perplex themselves with the ulterior problems, or what we now call eschatology. It is that death is in itself horrible, and old age comes in for a share of horror, because it is death's next neighbor.

But when the greatest of all events in history launched the Gospel into the world a great change was gradually brought about. In the relative importance of the seen and the unseen, the existing and the coming world, a change was wrought amounting to a revolution, and the compromise, which had abated speculation on the future, came spontaneously to an end. On the head and front of the new teaching was written the great doctrine of the Resurrection: and the Resurrection meant an union upon earth with the Life of Christ which was to be perpetuated beyond the grave and consummated by the final resumption of the body. For every redeemed soul a solution of the mystery of death was offered at once immediate and complete; and the aim of the new dispensation was that every soul should be redeemed; that as all had shared in the ruin through sin, so all should share in the redemption. And so at the very first outset it seemed to be. Through the first four chapters of the Acts, in the days of the three thousand and the five thousand,* it appears as though not a single tare had been sown by the hand of the enemy among the wheat. In the New Testament generally, until a cloud of uncertainty envelops the episode of the Seven Churches, the Christian community at large is holy and the disobedient are the rare exception. The indefeasible beatitude of believers is not only the happiest, but is also by far the largest object presented to the view. What was in time to become the reverse of the picture was as yet only a speck almost infinitesimal in the spiritual landscape.

From the first, as might have been expected, the happiness without end of man redeemed in Christ, of the very beings such as we see from day to day walking before us, stood as an universal conviction of the Church, and found its place in all the summaries of her belief. Transmigration of the soul, pre-existence, and its absorption, did not require to be confuted; for Christians they had melted away of themselves as mists before the sun.

* Acts ii., 41; iv., 4.

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Within these limits Christianity from the first addressed the world in language which was positive and peremptory.

But this happy state of things could not indefinitely continue. With the progressive extension of the Church, the proportion of the branches that abode not in the Vine continually grew. So early as at the date of the Apocalypse there were churches tainted in belief, and churches paralyzed by the lukewarmness which insults God by owning Him while it disobeys Him. Even while the Christian community had the period of persecution still lying in perspective before it, the world, the flesh, and the devil were actively extending their rule within its borders. While the Canon of the New Testament was assuming its form, the sacred books do not appear to have precipitated the mind of the Church into hasty attempts at solving the entire problem of the future state for the wicked in common with the righteous. We shall find that, outside the great revelation of fixed beatitude for holy souls, the question remained an open one for several generations, indeed for some centuries. It would be hazardous to speak with confidence as to the causes which introduced restraint. In such a case as that of the great Trinitarian controversy, it is known that strictness of definition was resorted to as a weapon of defence (and it has proved to be most effectual) against the activity of erratic ideas. In the case of the immortality of the soul, there was no such morbid activity to provoke the general imposition of restraint, and no corresponding danger to guard against.

The conditions under which we approach the consideration of this great subject are widely different from those which were present to the view of the early Christians. For them the question retained a great simplicity. The positive truth of a future life had indeed received authoritative and final confirmation from the mouth of our Lord. As we see from the writings of the Apostolic Fathers that the redeemed of Christ—that is to say, all Christians who would suffer Christ to redeem them—were thenceforward placed in security from all vicissitude by their vital union with Him. "He that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and he that liveth, and believeth in me, shall never die."* He made no declaration as to the origin or nature of the soul. The disquisitions of Rabbis, the speculations of philosophers, were quietly passed by. They remained whatever they had been before,

*John xi., 25, 26.

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in their original impotence or power. Passing by them all as naught, he proclaimed the establishment of his own rule, and he denied that it should not be marvelled at, for was it not so by the establishment of the rule of righteousness? "Marvel not at this; for the hour is coming in the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth, they that have done good unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of damnation."* Large, in proportion to the small volume of his recorded instructions, was the eschatological teaching of our Lord, but it all went straight to the most central and the simplest truths—His mission to draw all men unto Him; the beatitude of those consenting to be drawn, in being one with the Father and the Son; † for those who refuse, a state of darkness, exclusion, weeping and gnashing of teeth, a scene of misery and affliction, on which the curtain of the Gospel drops. That curtain is never lifted: and all that is behind it would seem to be withheld from us and reserved for the counsels of the Most High. And surely if the stony heart of man can be moved, here is enough to move it. On the one hand, rescue from all our evils and all our sins, restoration to a partnership with the Divine nature in the image of which we were originally formed, so that human destinies are in a manner linked to those not of the universe at large, but of the universe at its crown and summit. For this glorious picture, there is of course, a painful and shameful opposite, a Sheol more gloomy than the ancient conception which so largely sufficed to daunt the mind of man before the Advent. By the general declarations of the Gospel, there is open to us for persistent sinners in the future state a wilderness of woe. Yet we cannot say that the fate of the lost is represented to us as an exact counterpart to that of the righteous. So it would have been had the final award been one of pains and pleasures distributed as reward and punishment are administered to school boys and as in a single passage of the gospels future retribution is represented to us under the figure of stripes.‡ But this method of presentation would have thrown into the background the essentially ethical character of Divine government, and especially of its capital exhibition in the Christian scheme. For the essence of salvation consists not in any external possession, but in vital union with God, such as that of a creature with his

*John v., 28, 29. †John xvii., 21. ‡Luke xii., 47, 48.

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Creator can be. There is no Ahriman in the scheme of our religion, and no corresponding existence with which the unrighteous are to be similarly united. Hence there arises in the eschatology of the New Testament an almost uniform distinction in the mode of handling for the two. They are not logical opposites like good and evil. The consumption of the chaff with unquenchable fire is not the logical opposite of being gathered into the garner. Repulsion of the five foolish virgins into a void undescribed is not the logical opposite of a place in the procession of the bridegroom, however the one may be contrasted with the other. The weeping and gnashing of teeth in the outer darkness represents suffering which has its seat and source within the person himself, and are not the logical opposite to that feast where the master of the house supplies his chosen ones with food. Union with God is not only a state, but is also a law, of existence. No corresponding law is defined for us in the New Testament in relation to the lost. Whether or how far the duration of their sufferings is described, I do not at this moment enquire; but it is not merely or mainly in measures of time that the blessedness of the children of God is meted out to them. "As thou, Father, art in me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in us."* As they do not marry, so neither need they count. Wherever their union with God is named, their charter is given them anew.

"They which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world and the resurrection from the dead neither marry nor are given in marriage, neither can they die any more; for they are equal unto the angels, and are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection."† With death they have and can have no more concern, for "if a man keep my saying he shall never see death."‡ But, on the contrary, in describing the condition of the wicked, death is a familiar image. The wages of sin is death. The motions of sin bear fruit unto death. There is a law of sin and death. Sin, when finished, bringeth forth death.§ And the only question which remains is, whether the word "death" in these and like passages retains its ordinary sense as the cessation of existence, or whether it is here modified to signify a prolongation of existence conditioned by misery. For, do what we will with that word, we cannot sever from it that idea of finality which in one shape or another inheres in its essence.

* John xvii., 21. † Luke xx., 35, 36. ‡ John viii., 51.
§ Rom. vi., 23; vii., 5; viii., 2; 2 Cor. ii., 16; James i., 15.

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The instructions of the Apostles added no new doctrine to the teaching of the Saviour in respect to death and retribution, the inalienable beatitude of the just, the absence of any repeal of the sentence pronounced upon the wicked. The same as has been already pointed out was the case with those early writers termed the Apostolic Fathers.

It is only with some care that we can realize the value of this remarkable abstention from the license of speculation, which indeed continued long after the Apostolic age and its special inspiration. Even at a first glance it is easy to conceive what difficulties are likely to attend human attempts to map out the other world when we consider how imperfectly we succeed in our endeavors to master the conditions of the world in which we live, ascertained for us though they be by no small store of experience. First, we have to deal with the origin and essence of the soul, and their relations to those of the body: a subject of itself opening a wide field of varied controversies. Then, it is not one but two future lives with which we have to deal; the one which precedes the day of judgment, and the other which follows it and reaches out into the infinite. Then there is the difference of the conditions under which the great account is to be met by the generation summoned to it directly from the activities of life, and those other generations who have passed through the natural dissolution of the body and the experiences of the intermediate state. Here the enquirer finds his path crossed by the grave consideration that many pass into the unseen world in infancy and childhood without having reached any such development of the faculties as to attain responsibility, or, in the case of infants, even consciousness. On the bord rs of this region lie two others yet more vast: What is the condition of those who lived and died before the coming of Christ, and again, of such as dwell beyond the Christian pale and never hear "the word of this salvation?" How are we to encounter the doubts which suggested to the early Christian mind a division between the *peccatores* who fail to a greater or less extent in their endeavors at the fulfilment of the great Christian law, and the *impii* who do not so much as dream of endeavoring to fulfil it, but accomplish the whole work of their earthly careers in neglect or in defiance. How are to be adjusted the million-shaded gradations of penalty and reward, when the books are opened and the dead are judged according to

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their works: the All-seeing Eye taking its measure without fail of every act (and words and thoughts are also acts) done in the body by every individual human being? What is the place which birth-sin, the death brought by Adam into the world, will occupy in fixing the conditions of the dread account? Or again. The Christian was not redeemed in loneliness: he had been baptized into a community, and membership in that community established a relation which, under the circumstances of the early Christian Church, went down to the very roots of his being, and appeared sometimes to obtain such a command that the soul, when thoroughly vitalized by Divine grace, appeared to experience an absorption of all personal cares in the depth and intensity of its sympathies? As when St. Paul wrote those wonderful words: "I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh."* In these subjects and in others such as these, was open a field for inquiry and for dispute which might almost be called infinite. But the flights of thought were wider and wilder still when two hundred years after the time of our Lord we find ourselves face to face with the controversies of Origenism.

There was there a wise abstention from feverish inquiries which could only tend to the premature and inordinate pursuit of dogma, or the exaltation of mere opinion to a plane on which it acquires the semblance of authority. It was aided by a variety of influences. First the early Christian writers were not generally of a stamp addicted to mere theory, but were eminently practical. Reality and fervor were then the rule of Christian life and not as now the exception; so that the happy consequence of such a state of things was that the contemplation of the coming world, the main object presented to the view was that blessed and happy one which had already received from our Lord such fullness of description as was found amply to satisfy the general mind, and to throw the sadder portion of the question comparatively into the shade. And further, we must take into view the wide prevalence among the early Christians of a belief in the early return of the Saviour to the world for a victorious reign thereover and with His people for a thousand years. It seems evident that as under the Mosaic system the forward place given to temporal inducements and penalties

*Rom. ix., 3.

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tended to cast a shade over the entire question of a future life, so the millennial anticipations of a public and general triumph of the Lord in person upon earth together with his church must have operated powerfully in neutralizing the solicitude of Christians for very large solutions of the questions associated with eschatology, and may have caused something approaching to an absorption of the ideas concerning the particulars of individual destiny in the majestic and imposing imagery of expectation thus offered to the spiritual eye. For here it should be observed that the millennarian or chiliastic expectations were calculated to exercise a peculiar force of attraction. The grand expectation of St. Paul in connection with the coming life was "to be with Christ"; but this was the central and cardinal idea of Chiliasm. Again it met the weakness of human nature half way in abating the magnitude of the changes entailed by death; for the Christian would be still in his old home, and if that home was to present an altered, it was also to be a happier and a nobler, aspect. Further this state adjourned the awfulness which it is hard wholly to sever from the great account; for it preceded the Day of Judgment. Along with that great day, the chiliastic expectation adjourned what was to follow it; and by interposing this subject of adequate and indeed absorbing interest between the present life and the ultimate determination of the fate of souls a powerful means was provided for slackening the curiosity of the human mind with respect to that ultimate question. Origen, as we might naturally expect, is found among the opponents of Chiliasm.

Upon the whole and as regards the early church at large, I submit that we may view its mental condition with regard to eschatology as a very happy condition, and as distinguished mainly by the union of these three special notes: a pure faith, a modest self-restraint and a large range of freedom for opinion.

These ideas were in close conformity with all the best of our natural conceptions. Through the deviation of man from his righteousness, there had been a frightful rent established in the web of this earthly dispensation. The teaching of our Lord, and the purpose of His Incarnation, both in His Person, and in His Church which has been described as its continuation, aimed at the reparation of this rent by re-establishing the reign of righteousness; and this reign of righteousness was at once fully,

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clearly, and simply expressed in the primitive eschatology which set aside all the flights of metaphysical abstraction, and simply assigned to goodness its reward and to wickedness its proper retribution: with an adequate insistency and precision as to the first, and with a becoming awe, and consequent reserve, as to all the particulars of the latter.

This description will best apply to the period which extends from the Apostolic age down to the time of Origen. With regard to this period, the English speaking student does not, indeed, receive all the help he might desire (so far as I know) from writers in his own tongue. Dr. Salmond's "Christian Doctrine of Immortality"* is an able, truth-loving, and, from many points of view, comprehensive work; but it does not supply any history of the course and variation of Christian opinion during the centuries since the Advent. The still fuller work of Mr. Alger, which in 1878 had gone through ten editions in the United States, is open to graver exception in this respect, that it propounds a "patristic scheme of eschatology," † as representing the teachings of the Church from the first to the tenth century; whereas it is generally recognized and appears indisputable that great changes in the tone of principal writers took place during that lengthened period. The "punishment of the wicked by both physical and spiritual torture" without any respite, without any end,‡ was during the earlier generations denied by many, but was from the first the orthodox doctrine of the patristic Church. The common representations are different and I believe nearer the truth. According to F. Nitzsch, the immortality of the soul was the subject of free discussion among the early Fathers. In Justin Martyr we find it denied (and though the denial be put into the mouth of Trypho, an independent witness, it is inconceivable that this could have been done if Justin himself had believed that question to be closed in a contrary sense by Divine Revelation). Tatian says in express terms, the soul of man in itself is not immortal but mortal; and Theophilus of Antioch that Adam was neither mortal nor immortal, but (δακτικὸς ἀμφοτέρων) capable of either. And according to Irenaeus the soul in its own nature is not life, but receives its life from God, on whom therefore its

* Edinburgh, Clark, 1895.
† Alger, "Doctrine of a Future Life," page 395-8.
‡ Ibid, page 402.

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continuance depends. It is subject to the law of death, but will owe persistency of life, as a Divine gift, to God its author. At a later date Lactantius even says that the distinction between the righteous and the wicked would be cancelled if all were immortal* *Ergo immortalitas non sequela naturæ, sed merces præmium qui virtutis est.* On the other hand, Tertullian teaches that the soul is indivisible and imperishable, and has an activity which is not suspended even during sleep. Dodwell in his work on the soul, claims also Rufinus, Arnobius and Athenagoras as supporters of the doctrine of mortality.† Clarke's denials of these are bold, but by no means in all cases absolute or satisfactory.‡ The author of *Problème de l' Immortalité,* an elaborate work§ on behalf of "conditional immortality," includes in his claim Barnabas, Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Hermas, Polycarp, and Clement of Alexandria. Flügge in dealing with the period before Origen points out that there was as yet no dogma of the Church upon the subject; some affirmed punishments to be eternal, others regarded the souls of the wicked as destined to annihilation; in general writers did not go beyond the declarations of the New Testament, nor venture to lift the curtain which hangs over all that follows the Day of Judgment, considering that there is then opened a fresh period in the history of the race which it is beyond the prerogative of mortal man to examine.¶ Enough I think has now been said to sustain my general proposition that this period was one of faith, of freedom, and of personal moderation and reserve: although I have not yet referred to what is the clearest and most indisputable evidence in its support, namely, the language of the Creeds. That language shows that the general characteristics which I have assigned to the writers before the time of Origen extended beyond that period, so far as the authoritative standards of the Church at large are concerned.

The secret of this mental freedom, the condition which made it possible, was the absence from the scene of any doctrine of a natural immortality inherent in the soul. Absent, it may be

* F. Nitzsch, *Grundriss der Christlichen Dogmageschichte,* Berlin, 1870; pp. 352, 3; I. Theil. Quoting respectively Just. Dial. c. 4; Tatian c. Graec. 13; Theophilus ad Autol., II., 27; Iren., II 34, 4; Lactantius *Inst. Div.*, vii., 5.

† "The Soul a Principle Naturally Mortal," pp. 55, 67, 76, 79.

‡ Letter to Mr Dodwell, pp. 24 to 47.

§ *Problème de l'Immortalité,* Vol. ii., p. 286. Paris, 1842.

¶ Flügge, *Geschichte des Glaubens an Unsterblichkeit,* Leipzig, 1799, Theil., III. Abs. I., page 237.

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termed, for all practical purposes, until the third century; for, though it was taught by Tertullian in connection with the Platonic ideas, it was not given forth as belonging to the doctrine of Christ or his Apostles. It was held by Tertullian in connection with the contention that the soul was material in its nature, an idea very unlikely to recommend it to the Christian mind. And the association of Tertullian with Montanism could hardly be otherwise than detrimental to his influence; as indeed it seems to have left him through the long course of ages afloat, so to speak, between the opposite characters of patristic honors and the brand of heresy. It seems to me as if it were from the time of Origen that we are to regard the idea of natural, as opposed to that of Christian, immortality as beginning to gain a firm foothold in the Christian Church.

And now, indeed, in connection with that great name, it may be thought that we are no longer entitled to speak of moderation and reserve as characteristics of the prevailing tone of Christian thought. The opinion for which he is now most generally known to have been finally condemned is that which is called Restorationism or Universalism; an opinion which harmonizes with and perhaps presupposes the natural immortality of the soul. But the idea of restoration was only one amidst a crowd of his notions, all of which had the natural immortality of the soul for their common ground.

In the range of his reading, which largely exceeded that of any among his predecessors, Origen became well acquainted with the arguments of Gentile philosophy, and probably with every extant branch of learning. He was a great Apologist of Christianity, and it is supposed that he did not consciously alienate himself from its traditionary teaching. Yet he himself suspected that his eschatology was one dangerous for the multitude, and it is suggested that he cherished the notion of having an exoteric theology for the mass of believers and a esoteric system for the student. A curious passage is cited by Lupus from Saint Jerome: *Ipse Origenes, in epistola quam scribit ad Fabianum, Romanæ Ecclesiæ Episcopum, pœnitentiam agit, cur talia scripserit, et causam temeritatis in Ambrosium refert, quod secreto edita in publicum protulerit.** It was indeed the opening of a flood-gate. I think that the importance of the men who took opposite sides

* Lupus, page 706. Jerom. Epist. lxv., c. 4.

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in the long period of Origenistic controversy lends great support to the statement I have ventured that outside the strictly essential there had been a large freedom allowed to eschatological opinion in the early Church. On the other hand, speaking as a remote and ignorant observer, I am struck with astonishment on finding that this great man, so deeply immersed in practical controversy, should have found mental leisure for these far-travelling speculations. They seem, as to many of their subjects, like balloon-voyages undertaken into vacant space by one who found the atmospheric spaces contiguous to the earth insufficient for his expatiating energies. Flügge views him* as governed by a conviction that he could build out of philosophy, especially out of Platonism, buttresses for the Christian faith and proofs of its solidity; a view in marked contrast with that chosen by the most circumspect minds, and by Butler, a prince among them.

The sceptical mind may frame questions as it will: Death sternly refuses to give it any satisfaction. The love of money may heap around us mountains of gold; all this is but to lower the ratio of that which a man is, to that which he possesses. The fever of self-indulgence may multiply our enjoyments: but each new enjoyment is, for the common run of men, a new want, and each new want is a new link in the chain of moral servitude, a new deduction from our high prerogative of freedom. Schemes of negation may each for a while fret and fume upon the stage of human affairs. It is Death, the great auditor of accounts, that reduces them, one and all, to their natural and small dimensions. The present is louder than ever in its imperious demands; but injured nature takes it upon her to reply that the present is the life of animals, and the future is the life of man. In the development of luxury, we are immeasurably ahead of the ancient Greek, and we might have been proportionably more successful in shutting off the questionings of the soul respecting that which is to come, had not a new voice sounded forth in the world to proclaim the word Resurrection: since which it has become impossible, by any process within our resources, to stifle the longings of the human spirit to obtain the command of some instrument for measuring the future which expands before it.

I suppose it to be an acknowledged fact that for the Apostles, and for the first following teachers of Christianity, the doctrine of

*Flügge's *Geschichte*, Theil. III., Abs. v. (iv., 171).

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the Resurrection lay at the very threshold of the Gospel. It was a salient proof, of matchless force for the new scheme that, whereas the great enemy to be destroyed, according to the ancient promise, was Death, Death was at once and visibly destroyed by the Resurrection. Moreover, it was the road toward the solution of that cloud of mysterious problems which lay spread all round the idea of our own future life. It might have been imagined, then, that as the Resurrection was the first word of the Gospel, the handling of these mysteries would be the next. But no. The teaching which at once travelled so far into the darkness before us as the Resurrection, forthwith travelled back from it. It came back, in due order, from the Resurrection which lay on the farther side of the grave, to the resurrection which lies on the hither side. Under the Christian system, destinies depend upon character; and it is the character which has to be formed here which will shape the destinies that are to be undergone hereafter. It might almost be said without levity that the early Christians set about the work of character, and left destiny to to take care of itself.

The weight of interest attached to formation of character, immensely exceeded for practical purposes the interest of investigation into the particulars of the future existence, and the Church for some time gave an absorbing attention to the duty which lay nearest hand. Even those who view with least favor the unbounded speculations of Origen must regret that, if his works were to be condemned by binding authority, they should not have been brought to judgment until three centuries after his death (from about A. D. 254 to 553). He was a lover of truth, and if they had been tried in his life-time he might in deference to such high authority have reconsidered his positions, and have found means of greatly narrowing the interval which separated him from the general mind of the Church. While the question may suggest itself whether his opinions might and ought to have been dealt with sooner, it should be remembered on the other hand that during these three hundred years, beginning with the time of Paul of Samosata, the Church had gone through the most perilous and agitated period of its whole existence, and had dealt with and settled once for all the controversies, larger and more vital even than those of eschatology, which concerned the nature of the Object of our worship. The last echoes of those transcendant controversies only died away contemporaneously with the

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condemnation of Origenism, and in association with the name of the Roman Pope Vigilius. But the point which I desire to press is this. The immortality of the soul had heretofore been a question open and little agitated. The complex group of opinions termed Origenistic had been founded on it. The opinions were condemned. Of the immortality of the soul there was neither condemnation nor approval. But as in this way notoriety was given to it without censure, the practical effect may have been largely to accredit it, and this may have operated in conjunction with other causes to promote that extension of the opinion which had apparently been in progress from the time of St. Augustine.

It would be out of place were I to present the summaries of Origenistic tenets or hypotheses which may easily be found on reference.* They are set out with authority in the Canons of the Fifth Council from I. to IX., in the last of which he is named † and anathematised. It is enough to say that, besides speculations of a peculiar kind on the nature and redeeming office of our Lord, they included the pre-existence of the soul, and the universal restitution to righteousness and felicity of all mankind, a proposition which with inflexible and fearless logic he carried to its farthest bounds, and included in it Satan and the fallen angels. He was condemned during his lifetime by an Alexandrian synod, and the condemnation was echoed from Rome, but the grounds of it are not known with clear certainty. But his defenders, too, were strong in number, character, and influence, so that the Church exhibited a divided mind. His vast learning and ability, as well as his elevated reputation for sanctity, may have greatly contributed to the amount and vivacity of the support which he received. For some time, after the Council of Chalcedon, there was a lull, but a recrudescence followed, and Origenism became apparently the occasion as well as one of the main subjects of the General Council held at Constantinople in A. D. 553.

Even down to and after the time of Gregory the Great, Flügge finds no approach made towards the formation of a Christian dogma of eschatology. There was a disposition to dwell on the immateriality of the soul, but it was regarded as in its own nature

* For example, in the "Dictionary of Christian Biography," IV., 150 and 154. The article on Origen amounts to a highly developed treatise.

† Lupus *Canones et Decreta*, pages 660, 270.

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perishable, and as deriving immortality only from the knowledge of God.* Still he considers, and it seems indisputable, that the materials for such an opinion, whether we call it dogma or hypothesis, were for a long period in course of steady accumulation, but this was not so from the first. After some generations, however, the mental temper and disposition of Christians inclined more and more to its reception were also on the increase. Without these assumptions it would be impossible to account for the wholesale change which has taken place in the mind of Christendom with regard to the subject of natural immortality. It would be difficult, I think, to name any other subject connected with religious belief (though not properly belonging to it) on which we can point to so sweeping and absolute a revolution of opinion: from the period before Origen, when the idea of an immortality properly natural was almost unknown, to the centuries of the later middle ages and of the modern age, when, at least in the West, it had become practically undisputed and universal. Let us endeavor to obtain so much of light as we may upon the causes which were auxiliary to this extraordinary change.

I have ventured on referring to Origenism and even to its condemnation as one among them, on the ground that it brought the general mind into familiarity with the idea previously alien or remote. In the wake of Origen came Platonism, of which he was a zealous champion. At the period when Dante sang, Aristotle had long held that unquestioned sway which is commemorated in the line

Vidi il maestro di color che sanno.†

But Plato had been supreme in Alexandria; and Alexandria was the parent of Christian philosophism in the persons of Clement and of Origen. He had also a high place in the mind of St. Augustine, and he probably did more among Christians, than he had ever achieved among pagans, in establishing as a natural endowment that immortality of the soul which was already ineradicably fixed as fact for Christian souls, although upon a ground altogether different in the mind of the Church, so far as it touched the destination of the righteous. In all these ages, Christianity was in the West a rapidly growing religion; the extension of the Christian revelation gave a powerful impetus

* Flügge *Geschichte*, Theil III., Abs. V. (iv. 234-6).
† Dante Inf. IV., 131.

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to what I may term the spirit of affirmation; and with the spirit of affirmation, the arguments and the temper of Platonism intimately coincided. The system of Aristotle on the other hand was distinctly negative in the matter of what is now called the Beyond; but the view of immortality congenial to Platonism had, before this rival system became prevalent, so hardened in the Christian mind that it took no damage from the change brought about in philosophy at large.

By an unwarranted assumption, we are too much wont to antedate the transition of the mass of the population of the Empire from heathenism to Christianity. There is of course an utter dearth of sound statistical information on the subject. It is probable that Constantine, when he took the side of Christianity, saw that the balance of the aggregate mental and moral forces had altered in the same direction, but the question of mere numbers is one altogether different. Even in Constantinople, a century after it had been founded "under the inspiration of anti-pagan ideas," Beugnot shows that only one-fourth of the population were Christians.* The Christian policy of the great Emperor was rather an anticipation of the coming time, than an acknowledgment of results already achieved. The world was not yet reconciled to the Church. But that reconciliation was on its way; it travelled fast; and, as it advanced, the powers of the world acquired a growing influence within her borders. The proportion of her thoughtless and godless members to those of serious mind continually and rapidly grew. From the reign of Constantine onwards, says Beugnot, we note the disappearance of those simple and frugal manners, which for three centuries had been the glory of the Church.† So the warfare of the genuine Christian preacher with large numbers of his hearers waxed hotter and hotter. The question of their destiny in the world to come, which had been but infinitesimal in the first Apostolic days, now came to assume grave, and even vast, proportions. And here it was that the new doctrine, as I shall call it, of natural immortality played so material a part. The sinner had to be persuaded. He had also to be threatened; and threatened with what? If the preacher only menaced him with the retribution which was to follow the

* Beugnot, *Destruction du Paganisme en Occident*, II., 195.
† Beugnot I., 87.

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Day of Judgment, the force of the instrument he employed materially depended on what he could say as to the duration of that penal term, a subject which, in the earliest teaching of the Church, it had been found unnecessary minutely to explore. But the war was carried on from the pulpit at a great advantage, for the age was an affirming and believing, not a questioning or denying age. At such a period the more long-drawn the vista of the impending punishment, the more powerful the menaces with which the preacher might reckon upon beating down the resistance of the carnal mind. In an age which has reversed the tendencies of thought, the doctrine of natural immortality may have become, for many or some, an impediment or incumbrance. But, in what we term the ages of faith, ideas of a natural immortality, even if rudely and indefinitely conceived, enhanced the power of the leverage at the command of the Christian preacher. It seems also indisputable that it enhanced therewith the influence of the priesthood as a caste; and the sharper the edge which could be given to the configuration (so to speak) of the opinion, the greater was that enhancement: and the larger the increment of a force which in its first inception was evidently one calculated for use in the cause of righteousness, although in its ulterior developments, and in its association with another evolution of ideas concerning the intermediate state and the power of the Church to act upon it, the moral action of the tenet may have come to be of a mixed and questionable character. If, then, the idea of natural immortality was one thus variously adapted for promoting, under the circumstances of the time, both the higher and the more earthy part of the purposes of the Church, we cannot doubt that this doctrinal interest would have a large and efficacious operation in promoting the recognition, acceptance and habitual popular enforcement of that idea.

It seems, however, to be generally felt that the determining epoch in the history of seminal Christian thought upon this subject was the life of St. Augustine, together with that period, following closely upon it, when the Western Church became rapidly imbued with his theology in almost its entire compass.

It would be difficult, I believe, to frame from the writings of this great teacher, the most powerful, the most evangelical, and also the most comprehensive who had adorned the annals of the

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Western Church, any entirely self-consistent system of eschatological opinion. Some questions, such as whether suffering in the future will be physical as well as spiritual, he was content to leave open. It has been shown by the language already quoted from the *Retractationes* how he felt the difficulties of such a theme. The views which he expressed in connection with primitive man and with the fall seem to be at variance with the endeavors, doubtless due to his acceptance of the Platonic philosophy, which he made to found the immortality of the soul upon abstract and metaphysical considerations. Probably these arguments supplied the basis of his own conviction. His strong conception, however, of the Divine decrees, of birth-sin, and (in his later days) of the utter impotence of the will to act rightly, may all have tended to give, in his mind, more and more of fixity and permanence to the conditions of human existence. These views did not pass without some mitigation into the general teaching of the Latin Church. But the conclusion as to the soul met with general acceptance and suffered no abatement in its terms. From this time forward we cease to look for the appearance of men who, like Gregory of Nyssa in the fourth century, recalled the memory of Origen with regard to the escape in the future of lost spirits from their condemnation.* For Augustine strongly supported the eternal duration of their punishment. This is not surprising; but it may appear singular that he should have recognized such a parallelism between this opinion and the perpetuity of everlasting happiness, as to suggest that the doctrine touching the redeemed would be endangered unless the other were propounded as its counterpart. The eternal punishment of the wicked in general for the sins of a life not finite only but brief is thought by some to present an aspect of great severity. When this proposition carried with it the notions of inability to escape from sinfulness, and of adverse Divine decrees, and when, further, damnation for original sin was extended to infants, and the heathen were excluded wholesale from salvation, it may be said that a theology so fashioned did indeed hold heavy burdens for the human mind to bear. We are now perhaps suffering, in part, from the reaction which such a scheme might be calculated in the course of time to bring about.

* F. Nitzsch *Dogmageschichte* I., p. 404.

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It will not be required to say much more upon the historical growth of this opinion. Flügge regards the ideas of immateriality and immortality of the soul as accepted by St. John of Damascus, but considers that all along the Latin Church led the way in this development.* The history of the formation of the ecclesiastical dogma (of eschatology), he says, closes with the Schoolmen.† To their manipulation of the subject there is no corresponding process among the divines of the Oriental Church, who remained content with the older methods of presentation. It may have been a sign of this distinction between Western and Eastern doctrine that so late as in the *Decretum pro Graecis* (the words accepted by the Council of Florence as a form of union in 1439), it is declared that those who have died *in actuali mortali peccato, vel solo originali* pass into punishments of various degrees, but nothing is said of the duration of those punishments.

We are to regard Peter Lombard, it appears, as the person who gathered together the *disjecta membra;* and even from him the words are quoted, *omnibus questionibus quae de hac re moveri solent, satisfacere non valeo.*‡ With the Schoolmen, the philosophy of Aristotle was established in full authority; but Peter Lombard found the natural immortality of the soul in possession of the field of thought, and, perhaps, accepted it simply as part of the common heritage, without minute investigation of the source from which it was derived. Flügge quotes him as content to set out from the Resurrection, which he proves by the authority of Scripture. It was his business to give regularity and method to the dispersed utterances of former writers; and this he appears to have done with a certain moderation. Following St. Augustine and Gregory the Great, he described the satisfaction which the sufferings of the wicked will supply to the elect; *laetitia satiabuntur, agentes gratias de sua liberatione, vita impiorum ineffabili calamitate.*§ Their utility, therefore, lies in quickening the thankfulness of the blessed for their own relief, though the question remains whether so sad a stimulant can under the circumstances be required, or should be gratuitously presumed.

One historical point only remains.

At length, in the year 1513, in a Bull of Pope Leo X.,

* Flügge, Theil III., Abs. IV. (iv., 214). † *Ibid.* Abs. VII. u. IV.
‡ *Ibid.*, Abs. VIII. (iv., 69). § *Ibid.*, p. 69–79.

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which purports to be issued with the assent of a Lateran Council (which, however, has been questioned) we have the following words: *Damnamus et reprobamus omnes asserentes animam intellectivam mortalem esse, aut unicam in cunctis hominibus.**

I do not know how far this Bull is within the prescriptions of the Council of 1870; but whether it binds the Latin communion or not it is of interest as an historical document, and as one which stands in isolation.

But although it was the work of the Schoolmen to supply the Western Church with its formal eschatology, it seems to be generally agreed that the motive force of paramount efficacy in this direction was drawn from the works of St. Augustine. So we find ourselves brought down in substance to the modern ideas, meaning, however, by these the ideas which prevailed from the Reformation onwards, and reserving for a later stage whatever in the way of shock or change is to be ascribed to the sceptical or negative movement of the present day. So the spectacle which we have before us is in brief outline this. The reserve of the early Church has been abandoned. Even the recollection of it has faded from the popular mind. Of the immeasurable field of discussion opened by the future life, not indeed the whole, but a considerable part, had been virtually closed, not by ecclesiastical authority in its most formal sense, but yet by the general drift of the mind of Christendom, long before the judgment of Leo X. was promulgated. The Western tone had prevailed over the Eastern; for the East had hardly refreshed its theology by reproductions since the time of John of Damascus. With the departure of the ancient reserve there had come a great practical limitation of the liberty of thought possessed by the individual Christian. The doctrine of natural as distinguished from Christian immortality had not been subjected to the severe tests of wide publicity and resolute controversy, but had crept into the Church by a back door as it were, by a silent though effective process, and was in course of obtaining a title by tacit prescription.

The evidence of the change may perhaps be most readily supplied to us by observing that when arguments are offered for the immortality of the soul they are rarely derived from Scripture.†

*From the *Bullarium* of Sixtus V., Romae, 1586, p. 171.
† Flügge, Theil III. Abs. I., Abs. V., (IV., 3 ii).

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For it will be borne in mind that logically viewed resurrection is one thing and immortality another. The duration of the sufferings of the wicked was universally deemed to be co-extensive with the beatitude of the righteous. But there remained one distinction on which we may have to dwell at a later stage. The human mind had become familiar with the name of eternity, but had dived little into the idea itself. There had not yet been, in conjunction with the acceptance and enforcement of the phrase, any corresponding attempt by arithmetical calculation or otherwise to give it with any fullness the character which it bears in recent thought.

It remains to consider with some fullness the effect of these grave changes, and especially of the substitution in our eschatology on a larger scale of assertion for reserve.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

(*To be continued.*)

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OUR DEFENCELESS COASTS.

BY REPRESENTATIVE GEORGE N. SOUTHWICK, OF NEW YORK.

AMONG the statesmanlike utterances of Samuel J. Tilden, for which his name should be honored and cherished, the most notable was his appeal for a proper defence of the coasts of the United States. With Mr. Tilden the idea of the urgent necessity for coast defences assumed the proportions of a hobby. But his words fell upon deaf ears and he was gathered to his fathers without having witnessed the realization of his day-dream. Indeed, while in the flesh, he was roundly abused for proposing what was termed an endless expenditure of money. I recall from the literature of the times a cartoon in which the venerable Tilden was represented as standing with trembling limbs on the roof of Graystone and gazing anxiously through his telescope, seaward, as if he discerned, hard down on the horizon, black smoke pouring from the funnels of a British man of war.

Truly it was a perverse generation with which Mr. Tilden and other far-sighted men were compelled to deal, in urging the defence of the country's coasts. Let me suggest sample arguments of the times, which satisfied the average American that peculiar conditions and circumstances entered in to relieve the United States from the application of the ancient adage that peace was the proper time in which to prepare for war.

"Surely, do not 3,000 miles of ocean intervene between this country and Europe, isolating us from the only source whence a hostile attack could come?

"And, moreover, did not the great and good Father of his Country caution us against foreign alliances and entanglements, and have we not heeded his warning religiously?

"Then, where is the danger and why sink millions of the people's money in the defence of our coasts?"

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Such were some of the popular queries of familiar ring; and the Tilden argument went by the board.

The truth of the matter was that the American people had been surfeited with war and were suffering from a reaction against it and everything pertaining to it. Furthermore, the experiences of the civil conflict had inspired in them a blind confidence in their inventive genius and ability to meet any crisis which might arise.

Whatever the influence at work, the results are known of all men:—coast defences almost entirely lacking; merely the nucleus of a navy; an army insignificant in numbers and organized on a basis which has been discarded by every other civilized nation.

The document which President Cleveland sent to Congress, on the afternoon of December 17, 1895, changed the entire aspect of affairs and brought about a new order of public sentiment on the question of national defence. That Venezuelan message has been well likened to a flash of lightning out of a clear sky at midday; and the thunder which followed startled the American people as had nothing else since Beauregard's opening gun in Charleston harbor, in 1861, proclaimed the war between the sections. The President's declaration was one of defiance—possibly of war—against the most powerful and resourceful nation of Europe. It startled, especially because the practical judgment of Americans told them that they were totally, negligently, and almost criminally, unprepared for war; unprepared even for defence on land, much less aggression on the ocean.

Britannia ruled the waves as in the days of Drake and Nelson, while her military outposts extended along our northern border; and hostilities meant the immediate advent of flying squadrons off the harbors of New York, Philadelphia, Boston, New Orleans, and San Francisco, if not the presence, *via* the Welland canal, of vessels of war before Chicago, Milwaukee, Duluth, Cleveland, and Buffalo.

The situation was humiliating, as well as startling. And what a commentary it was on the prudence and foresight of the wealthiest people on the globe that we were compelled to rely for protection not on formidable earthworks and rifled guns of steel, but rather on the justice of the President's proposition for international arbitration, and the known conservatism of Great Britain in dealing with nations of the first class, growing out of repug-

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nance to any conflict which ultimately would involve the loss of commerce and markets, if not of territory and prestige. Then it was poor consolation to Americans to recall that a policy of inaction regarding coast defence had saved to the people a few millions of dollars. And I doubt whether there is under the stars-and-stripes to-day a single intelligent and patriotic citizen who doubts the wisdom, if we shall be so fortunate as to escape from our present dilemma, of putting the coasts of the nation into a proper condition of defence.

Instinctively the public thought, at the first alarm over the Venezuelan question, was directed toward the city and harbor of New York. If our coasts were unprotected, certainly the greatest prize which a foreign foe could hope to secure, and to the possession of which his energies would be directed instantly, was the commercial, industrial, and financial metropolis of the Western hemisphere.

And what a pitiable spectacle was presented! Throughout the length and breadth of the grand harbor and along the magnificent approach from the ocean the vast population and wealth of the city enjoyed the protection of only two great guns of modern make, which might hurl destruction at the invader. As in mockery, antiquated smooth bores alone frowned through the portholes and from the parapets of Forts Wadsworth and Hamilton. Fort Lafayette was a picturesque ruin. A beggarly array of mortars at Sandy Hook did evidence patriotic preparation in the art of national self-defence. True it is that Fort Hancock at the Hook had also been equipped with two twelve-inch guns of modern make—the most formidable type of gun yet manufactured in this country for coast defence. The rest of the armament at the Hook consisted of three dynamite guns—two of fifteen-inch and one of eight-inch calibre. Fort Hamilton, it was boasted, possessed a ten-inch monster of nickel steel, but the gun, it was discovered, lay skidded up on the concrete of the emplacement which had been prepared for it, awaiting a carriage. Fort Wadsworth had been favored with an eight-inch gun, but that also was not in position.

Therein was embraced the entire complement of defences for New York harbor.

At the entrance from Long Island Sound, Fort Schuyler and Willet's Point were armed with what would have been formidable

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monsters of iron, if modern naval operations were conducted from behind "wooden walls."

Yet the harbor of New York is in a more advanced stage of defence than any other on two oceans and the Gulf of Mexico. Indeed, there are only two other harbors where the slightest beginning has been made. Boston and San Francisco each have sixteen twelve-inch mortars in position, while a fifteen-inch dynamite gun battery for San Francisco has recently been completed.

All other harbors are absolutely defenceless.

Philadelphia is as helpless against the passage of British war vessels up Delaware Bay as more than a century ago, when Lord Howe was in possession of the Quaker city. No biting shots from shore batteries would delay a Cockburn gayly sailing into Chesapeake Bay. Baltimore might be reduced to ashes, but Fort McHenry would be wrapped in silence rather than the smoke of battle; and a captive Key would peer in vain, amid the glare of rockets and the bursting of bombs, for a sight of the waving stars-and-stripes. The Potomac would be accessible despite Fort Washington; and at Washington no resistance could be made to the second application of fire to the national capital and the destruction of other public buildings containing the invaluable records of the government. Historic Charleston harbor, where the grim Moultrie gallantly planted his colors and replied to British broadsides with even deadlier cannonade, in Revolutionary days, and where Confederate batteries reduced Sumter to submission and baffled every effort of a fleet of Union ironclads to reduce them, in the sixties, would fall a prey to a *Blake* or *Benbow* without the firing of a shot. No British Farragut would need lash himself in the rigging and risk his life in capturing the port of Mobile; for, on steaming up to the wharves, he would be presented, peacefully, with the keys and freedom of the city. Nor would the advance upon New Orleans from the Gulf be obstructed by the batteries of Forts Jackson and St. Philip, as was the case thirty-four years ago.

The coast defences of 1775-'81, 1812-'15, and 1861-'65 were elaborate, when contemporaneous conditions and the stage of development in ordnance and fortifications are considered, compared with the condition of things which obtains to-day. Preceding generations, at least, protected the nation from attack to the extent which their skill and resources permitted.

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Gen. Nelson A. Miles, of the United States Army, may be regarded as a competent witness regarding the defenceless condition of our coasts. After returning from a recent tour of inspection through Southern seaport cities, the General said: "As to defences, Savannah has none. The old fortifications have gone to ruin, and what there is left is of no value as a means of defence. Charleston is also without protection, and so is Mobile, New Orleans, and Galveston. . . . From Portland to Galveston there has been little or nothing accomplished toward the defences of the important cities." Then the General proceeded to disillusionize those who fondly imagine that torpedoes and mines can be hastily improvised as a means of defence for our ports. "Torpedoes are all very well," he said, "when they work, but no country can place absolute reliance in one type of destructive instruments. There must always be a combination of heavy guns, mortars, mines, and torpedoes, working together to make great commercial cities on the sea absolutely safe from an enemy's fleet. Submarine mines can be located quickly, and are unquestionably valuable adjuncts to forts and mortars, but there are difficulties in the way of placing them frequently. It would not be impossible for a fleet knowing the location of these mines to approach within a reasonably safe distance and destroy them with its own guns; nor, with light-draught vessels, would it be impracticable to steam over them."

United States Senator John L. Wilson, of Washington, has drawn a graphic picture describing our helplessness on the Pacific Coast. "So far as the northwestern coast is concerned," he says, "we have absolutely no fortifications whatever. The English have a great naval station at Esquimault, upon the Straits of Fuca, and our shores are within the sound of the morning and evening gun of Great Britain. They have their gunboats, torpedoes and a first-class armament in every particular. They could lay tribute in twelve hours upon all the cities of Puget Sound, and take possession and control the coal supply of the Pacific Coast, and we are absolutely defenceless. . . . Not only is the commerce of Puget Sound of great importance, but, as I have above stated, the coal supply of the Sound would be exceedingly valuable in case of war. The growing importance of Alaska and the boundary dispute there give additional strategic importance to that section of the country."

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Despite the backwardness of actual preparations, a broad and comprehensive plan for coast defences was laid out more than nine years ago. In December, 1886, President Cleveland, in his annual message to Congress, voiced the Tilden idea, when he declared: "The defenceless condition of our seacoast and lake frontier is perfectly palpable; the examinations made must convince us all that certain of our cities should be fortified and that work on the most important of these fortifications should be commenced at once. The absolute necessity, judged by all standards of prudence and foresight, of our preparation for an effectual resistance against the armored ships and steel guns and mortars of modern construction, which may threaten the cities on our coasts, is so apparent that I hope effective steps will be taken in that direction immediately."

It was from President Cleveland's first Secretary of War, William C. Endicott, that the plan of coast defence took its name. The Endicott plan contemplated the thorough fortification of twenty-seven ports, to which the Puget Sound ports were afterwards added. It involved the construction of 677 guns and 824 mortars, at a cost of over $97,000,000, and floating batteries, also, at a cost of over $28,000,000. The recommendations of the Fortifications Board, in which the plan was devised, called for an immediate appropriation of $21,500,000 and $9,000,000 annually thereafter.

Had the four Congresses since 1886 shown the same zeal and liberality for coast defences as has been manifested in appropriations for pensions, rivers and harbors and public buildings, the year 1895 would have witnessed the complete performance of the great work contemplated under the Endicott plan, provided the Fortification Board judged the proportions of the undertaking and the time required, correctly. But the "watchdogs of the Treasury" and the necessities of "political economy" reduced the official estimates for coast defences, embraced under the head of Fortifications, as for no other branch of national expenditure.

The discriminating policy pursued by Congress may be detected at a glance, when the estimates and appropriations of the last Congress, for the year ending with June 30, 1896, are considered. For Agriculture, Army, Diplomatic and Consular, District of Columbia, Indian, Legislative, Military Academy, Navy, Pension, Post Office, River and Harbor and Sundry Civil appro-

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priations, the estimates of the various departments were $376,910,826.68; the actual appropriations, $371,906,964.65—or 98.7 per cent. of the estimates. In the case of Fortifications, however, the estimate of $7,357,703.50 was cut down to an appropriation of $1,904,557.50—or 25.9 per cent. of the estimate. And the present year, comparatively speaking, has been one of Congressional liberality so far as fortification appropriations are concerned.

Where, since 1886, the original Endicott plan called for an expenditure of over $97,000,000, actual appropriations have aggregated only $10,631,000.

The first appropriation for guns was made seven years ago and for emplacements five years ago. For both guns and emplacements the annual appropriations have averaged only $1,500,000, although seven times as large an expenditure was projected.

Secretary of War Lamont has notified the President that if future appropriations for the manufacture of guns, mortars, and carriages be no larger than the average authorized for the purpose since 1888, it will require twenty-two years more to supply the armament of the eighteen important ports for which complete projects are approved, and if the appropriations for the engineer work are to continue at the rate of the annual appropriations since 1890, the Secretary further declares, it will require seventy years to complete the emplacements and platforms for the armament of these ports.

While Congressional parsimony in the matter of coast defence has sadly embarrassed the project, nevertheless real progress has been made, which will henceforth be increasingly apparent. The establishment and preparation of the nation's great gun factory at the Watervliet Arsenal, West Troy, absorbed a large portion of the meagre appropriations for several years. Now the plant is practically completed, and the nation has a complete gun factory, which will compare favorably with the celebrated works of the Krupps at Essen or any other famous gun factory of Europe. Work on the actual construction of guns at the Watervliet factory has now been in progress for seven years. That operations have not been conducted on a scale at all commensurate with the capacity of the works goes without saying, in view of the small appropriations.

The Chief of Ordnance of the War Department, General D.

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W. Flagler, before the Senate Committee on Coast Defences, in January, submitted his estimate of what was required to provide the raw materials and other supplies, and operate the Watervliet works at its full capacity of sixteen hours a day, during the next fiscal year beginning with July 1st. His figures were $15,589,877, including $3,198,000 for the expense of operating the gun-factory. They indicate the enormous capacity of the Watervliet works for turning out the instruments of coast defence in the form of guns and mortars. In view of the statement of Secretary Lamont that appropriations not only for guns but also for emplacements have averaged but $1,500,000 annually, since their construction was begun in 1888 and 1890, General Flagler's figures for the coming fiscal year at Watervliet likewise indicate the indifferent manner in which operations at the nation's gun factory have been conducted hitherto, by reason of insufficient appropriations. And as the operation of any great manufacturing establishment at a small percentage of its capacity means expensive operation, it is clearly seen that Congressional parsimony has increased the price of every gun turned out at the Watervliet factory beyond what would have been the case if the factory had been operated at anything like its full capacity. Evidently Congressional "watch-dogs" and "economists" of the Holman variety have overlooked that industrial consideration in annually cutting down appropriations for coast defences. At its full daily capacity, on a sixteen-hour basis, the Watervliet factory can turn out fully 100 guns of eight, ten and twelve-inch calibre in a year. Even with an eight-hour day fifty big guns can be completed annually.

The only evidence of expedition in the matter of coast defence was in the action of Congress, when the long delay in the establishment of the Watervliet factory and in the beginning of gun-making operations, tempted it to enter into a contract with the Bethlehem Iron Works, of Bethlehem, Pa., for the construction of a hundred heavy guns during a series of years. No further contract with any private concern is likely, inasmuch as Secretary Lamont states that the Watervliet gun factory "is capable of producing in ten years the armament required by the present projects." The Secretary might have substituted "five" for "ten," on General Flagler's basis of a sixteen-hour day at Watervliet.

The factory for gun-carriages at the Watertown, N. Y., ar-

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senal is about completed and will have a capacity of thirty carriages annually. Twenty were turned out during the past year.

In regard to the employment of mortars, which form the bulk of the existing defences of New York, Boston, and San Francisco, it is well to bear the views of General Miles in mind. Although mortars may be powerful and accurate in their way, they do not dispense with the necessity for eight, ten and twelve-inch guns for long nor short range. A war vessel's hull, down on the horizon, is a small target. A city affords a large target for the vessel's gunners. Army officers declare that British war vessels, with nine-and-two-tenths-inch guns, possessing a range of eleven miles and elevated at an angle of thirty degrees, could quickly reduce Boston to submission with the city's sixteen mortars vainly endeavoring to reach the enemy.

A new feature of the Watervliet factory is a plant for manufacturing sixteen-inch guns, which is being established and is now almost completed. These most formidable monsters have been a subject of scientific controversy as to their efficiency and desirability. But the belief is obtaining wide acceptance among experts on ordnance that they are bound to be a success. General Flagler has strenuously urged provision for their manufacture before the Senate Committee on Coast Defences. The ordnance experts pretty generally agree that the sixteen-inch gun is not intended for long-range fighting. Its operation would be too expensive for that purpose. The shell carried by it weighs 2,370 pounds. But at close range, when the shell could hardly go wide of the mark, the destructive capacity of the sixteen-inch gun is tremendous. Guns of the eight-inch variety are considered a formidable type for long-range work. An officer in the Corps of Engineers of the Government made for me this comprehensive summary regarding sixteen-inch guns: "They are intended to supplement other instruments of defence and provide absolute security for our ports. No armor yet placed upon a vessel of war can withstand a shell from one of these guns. Armor invulnerable to an eight-inch gun is vulnerable to them. They are a last resort, in case the smaller guns, the mortars and the torpedoes and mines fail to restrain the enemy." In that view of the sixteen-inch gun, the officer agrees with the official head of the Ordnance Department.

In his testimony before the Senate Committee on Coast De-

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fences, in January, General Miles made an exceedingly effective argument in favor of coast defences when he estimated that the cost of land defences would be much less relatively, than the cost of the navy for the defence of seacoast ports. Although he advocated the maintenance of the navy, he believed that land defences were necessary for the support of the navy, and that one gun on land was worth five guns on a vessel for coast defences, and would cost only one-fifth as much to maintain.

Before the same committee, in February, Admiral John G. Walker made a similar appeal when he presented arguments in favor of the immediate carrying out of plans for efficient coast defences. He urged that the work of building up an invincible navy should go hand in hand with the construction of great defences on land, for only by such a combination could this country, with its enormous coast line, successfully withstand attack by any great maritime power.

Since the first of the year, petitions have been pouring into both branches of Congress, calling for coast defence appropriations. Chambers of commerce, boards of trade and cotton exchanges seem to be awaking to the defenceless condition of our ports; and the essence of their "whereases" is fairly embodied in this excerpt from the memorial of the Manufacturers' Club of Philadelphia:

WHEREAS, The City of Philadelphia, like other seaboard cities of the United States, has no adequate protection from a foreign enemy in the event of war, and

WHEREAS, In the opinion of one of the most eminent military authorities in the United States, "there certainly should be a liberal appropriation each year until the lives of ten million people living near deep water, and their six billions of property, are placed beyond the possibility of being destroyed or plundered, in any controversy between ourselves and a foreign power," etc.

But petitions, however widely circulated and numerously signed, will not necessarily accomplish the desired purpose. The history of the Endicott plan since its inception in 1886, reveals clearly the inherent weakness of the cause of coast defence in Congress. Twenty one of the forty-five states border on the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans and the Gulf of Mexico, and embrace forty-two, or nearly one-half, of the ninety Senators. But, in the House, the number of sea and gulf districts, within which coast defence operations are contemplated, is comparatively insignificant, and the active, personal interest manifested in coast de-

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fence appropriations is correspondingly small. Important as guns and fortifications are at the present juncture, when viewed in a national aspect, they do not appeal to half the Senate and to scarcely as many Representatives as Senators. Compared with the improvement of rivers and harbors, which abound in every Senate state and House district, or with public buildings, the demand for which among Congressmen is universal and unlimited, they are altogether a subordinate matter. Only a patriotic impulse stirred by contemporaneous events or a party policy enforced by the leading spirits in both branches of Congress can carry through a liberal appropriation for guns and fortifications and subordinate internal improvements to external defence. That the Venezuelan war scare has impressed the Congressional leaders that it is "good politics" just now to vote money for patriotic purposes, even if rivers, harbors and public buildings are stinted during the coming year, is sincerely to be hoped. An aroused public sentiment in favor of coast defence manifested in state, county and municipal bodies of a legislative character, in the columns of the press and in political, social and scientific organizations, would assist in influencing Congress. It will be considered "good politics" to favor coast defence, in Congress, when it shall be deemed "bad politics" to trifle with an aroused patriotic sentiment which insists on relief from danger at this crisis and other crises liable to arise in the near future.

That there is a crisis on and that the reassertion of the Monroe Doctrine in the Venezuelan difficulty is a serious departure on the part of the United States is not to be doubted. It logically means foreign entanglements and alliances and, if not accompanied by active preparations to put the nation in a position to treat with its inferiors, at least on the common ground of equality, might better not have been entered upon. An aggressive diplomatic policy without the accompaniment of effective means of coast defence, if not of aggression on the ocean, would be more than a mistake; it would be a calamity; it would be little less than treason on the part of the American people's sworn defenders at Washington.

GEORGE N. SOUTHWICK.

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THE NATURAL HISTORY OF WARFARE.

BY N. S. SHALER.

THOSE persons who are accustomed to observe the movements of public opinion have had occasion to note of late a curious tide which is setting our nation towards warfare. Although by our happy isolation from the field of European rivalries and by the traditions of our forefathers ours is the one great state the world has ever known which seems to be appointed for the offices of peace, we appear to be driven by a blind impulse into modes of thought and action concerning our neighbors that will, if unchecked, bring us to contests of arms. A trifling fracas with Chili, a mere police court case; an insurrection in Cuba; a matter of fishing in Newfoundland; of sealing in Alaska, or the confused questions of a wilderness boundary in South America, each and all serve to set the dogs of war baying up and down the land. These questions may be settled by the judicious conduct of a few men who are in actual control of our foreign relations, and others as they arise may be thus arranged; but by the next turn of the political wheel we may lose this protection and find in the high places men who, like the others, have eaten of the insane root, and who will welcome the opportunity for this nation to enter, as these madmen phrase it, "on a larger sphere of action."

The most dangerous manifestation of these belligerent people is the talk about national honor in which they are indulging. When a man begins to rave about honor we may be pretty sure that he is about to do some irrational, most likely disreputable, deed. The word is like an oath, serving, with its vague yet large meaning, to intoxicate the fancy. So, too, with states, the things they do for honor's sake are likely to prove very dishonorable. In the distinct modern sense of the word, an honorable

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man or state is one that keeps all contracts, guards against offending neighbors, considers the weak, sacrifices personal desires for the good of others. Such an individual, unit or aggregate, never talks or even thinks of this sacred honor, for with right living the consideration does not arise. The advance which the world has made in unselfishness, an advance which is fairly betokened by the passing out of this old notion of a peculiar possession in the way of dignity which had to be guarded by arms, is the key to the moral gain of this century; and when we observe the notion resurging in the minds of men we may reasonably expect to find that it marks one of those temporary reversions in the prevailing on-going of moral development which so often occur in the realm of mind as well as in that of organic forms. Here as elsewhere in the field of human conduct our modern insight into the life of our ancestors in the form of man and brute gives us much which may serve to guide us to the remedies which may be applied to ills such as we are considering. I shall therefore undertake a brief enquiry into the natural history of the combative motive.

The first steps in the way upward from the lowliest stages of existence, steps which our life followed in the ancient time, led the beings to recognize in the world about them means of gratifying their desires. At once, in many and various series of adaptation, the bodies and minds of the creatures were swiftly modified for this task of seizing upon coveted objects, food or mates, as the case might be. For a long period, measured indeed in geologic ages, infinite invention is displayed in providing the forms with the means whereby they might win the coveted things; all the early stages of mental development were accomplished in this rude exercise of the primitive selfishness. The monuments of this struggle are to be found in the vast array of devices which served to ensure swift motion along with the capacity to clutch and rend the enemy. As the males of the species have in general not only to capture food, but also to wrestle with their rivals in sexual combats, they are usually more militant than the females and much better armed for such work. In the ancestry of man we may fairly reckon that there were thousands of species and millions of generations in which this principle of combat was the guide in the advance of life.

Gradually as the ascent in the scale of living is accomplished

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there comes in an element of sympathy which is in time to qualify and in later time to overturn the original dominion of selfishness. At first this sympathy arises from the care of the parents, usually the mother alone, for the offspring. The young are recognized, at least for the period of immaturity, as neither rivals nor prey but as objects of a tender solicitude. With this the family is instituted and life enters on the beginnings of the new, the moral, order. Among the higher vertebrates, the birds and mammals, the only creatures in which we recognize a distinct spiritual kinship with ourselves, the family bond readily passes by a widening process to that of the tribe or even to a wider tie which unites all the individuals of the species in a limited sympathetic union, such, for instance, as is shown among our pigs, where the cry of a distressed individual will arouse in all the members of the group, even those of the most diverse varieties, a desire to serve their fellow-being.

The incoming of the sympathetic motive in the species below the level of man in no wise arrests the ancient deep rooted motive of combat. The altruistic tendency is, apart from the mother with her young, very little manifested. It is but a germ, but one that is destined in time to overshadow the ancient lower growth. Still all through the mammalia, which, for the reason that they are direct or relatively near kinsmen of ourselves, especially interest us, we find the body energetically directed towards new devices in the way of arms and the mind varying in its instincts, so that the weapons may be put to the best use. In fact, nowhere else in the animal kingdom, except among certain insects and the predatory birds, are the mental and physical provisions for war so well organized as in the mammalia; it is a class of warriors, and with them battle begins to have something of the splendor it finally assumes in man.

When in the ascending series we attain to the level of the group of the apes and thereby approach nearer to the estate of man, we find the shape of the animals departing in many ways from that of the lower mammalian forms. The creatures are long limbed, usually rather frail bodied; the claws begin to take on the characteristics of our own finger nails, and the only instruments of attack are the teeth which, though sometimes formidable instruments, are not specially adapted for use as weapons in anything like the measure in which they are in many other groups of

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this class. Naturalists hold the apparently well founded opinion that the race of man has not been derived from any of the existing *genera* of the monkey tribe; but it is accepted that the gorilla is, though in a collateral branch of the family tree, not far removed from the main stem of our common succession. Although this animal has a reputation, perhaps well deserved, for combative humor and is of considerable strength, his efficiency in assault is not to be compared with that of the true beast of prey. The condition of the lowest savages also indicates clearly that man is derived from a series which for ages had been working on quite other lines of development than those which give success through combat. The gains had been mainly won in the paths of extending sympathies in the enlarging social order, the fact that nearly all the species of monkeys are commonly social or tribal clearly suggests that even before the institution of the human kind the species were winning upward, by the strength due to the developing mind and especially to the sympathetic side of the spirit. The gorilla, though perhaps liker to men than any other infra-human being is in his surly unsocial humor best reckoned as a degradation so far at least as his ways are concerned. The sum of these considerations is that in the last steps on the way to man the brute was already upon other paths of advance than those which are opened by mere assailing powers.

In the lowest forms of man which are now on the earth we find the delicate agile body, the lack of assailing instruments, and the quick sympathies of the monkeys. The creature lives by his wits rather than by his physical power, such strength as he has arises from his sympathetic associations with his fellows and from his mental ability, which makes him an inventor of tools. Among the first of these contrivances are arms. With the possession of arms, even those made of stone, this eminently frail, and, for his weight in combat, singularly incompetent creature, at once became endowed with a capacity for assault which had before no parallel on this earth. The forms of hurled spears, including the arrows and the javelins, gave him the singular capacity of attacking from a distance; the mental ability which enabled him to effect a union with his fellows, and even in the earlier stages of his military art to develop strategic combinations, lifted his hunting and war exploits to a much higher state of efficiency than had been attained by any of the earlier forms of life.

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The first and most important effect of this invention of weapons was to change the nature of man's food. In his earlier state, except for an occasional resort to insects and other easily obtainable animal food, he had been a vegetarian; in fact, as before remarked, this weakness of the anthropoid series makes any other kind of life impossible. Missile, weapons, and the primitive contrivances for fishing, by enabling him easily to capture animals, led this creature away from the ancestral habits of subsistence and gave him access to the more profitable because the more nourishing products of the chase.

As all the primitive peoples and many who had attained to the high grade savagery, such as our American Indians, are instinctively cannibals, the motives of the earliest form of war were doubtless mingled with those which animate the hunter. The defeated enemies were not only deprived of their personal property and expelled from valued hunting grounds, but they were eaten. In the frequent extremity of starvation in which all the earlier folk were likely to find themselves once or more each year, the neighboring but normally hostile tribes doubtless afforded an important source of food. In these brutal conditions, when the human population of a country was divided into small tribes or clans, united among themselves by the tie of a recognized common blood, the state of constant warfare doubtless served to bring the process of natural selection into very effective operation. The *gens* which had the most valor, was the most provident, the best organized, which, in a word, had attained the greatest advance, would be the most likely to prevail in the struggle, to dominate the land, and thus to gain a firm place; while the relatively weak clans would receive the curse which in the ancient pre-moral order awaited the incompetent. Here alone in the series of man do we find war making for human advance. So long as the vanquished were utterly destroyed, their bodies eaten and their goods appropriated by the conquerors, the selective effect of war was great and the rude engine worked in certain directions for human advancement.

In the next stage of the upgoing of man, that in which he ceases to be a nomad, becomes a soil tiller and retains only so much of the ways of the hunter as may afford sport, we find war taking on a changed aspect. In the earliest stages battles with men differed little in spirit from those with wild beasts, it was

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only one chase with a difference in the quality of the game. The lives of the men were given up to the occupation which in itself bred the humor of war in every member of the tribe. With the pastoral life and yet more with the life of the soil tiller the burthen of men's labor and of their culture passed from the occupations of a warlike to those of a peaceful sort. No longer were their days given up to hunting beasts and men. They were now devoted to labors which led their spirits in a general way from warlike pursuits. In no case, however, so far as we know, was it permitted to any of these early flock carers or soil tillers to give over war; in all important instances these first essayers of a higher life were surrounded by tribes of a lower estate who hungered for their wealth; the result was that the men of peace needed to retain and develop in a more formal way than their ancestors the spirit and arts of war. In this condition the organization of the higher modern military systems began.

It is not to be supposed that any sedentary people, because of their generally peaceful occupations, ever at once gave up the humor of conquest which had been bred in them for ages of fierce contention. On the contrary, these shepherds and soil tillers were always subjected to the outbreaks of an ancient fury, in the manner of other domesticated animals who have been in a like manner tamed. In this organized state, however, war became occasional. It rests on an accepted basis of pretexts, in which *honor* comes to have an important place, at least in the minds of the more civilized parties of these contests. The subjugated peoples are no longer normally eaten; they are adopted into the nascent state as slaves or tributaries.

It requires no extended argument to show that in this second state of the warlike motives the greater part of the beneficial selection action which was effective in the lower estates of man is lost. If the more civilized of the contestants wins, the lower folk are usually not destroyed; their people may be adopted into the victors' race. If the savage prevail, the extinction of a civilization sets back progress in a way which is often recorded in history or in the monuments of vanquished states. In a certain way the work is selective, but it operates for degradation especially for the reason that all the time, strength, and means that a civilized state spends on war are spent for destructive work and not for the constructive labor which it is its task to do. So

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far as the selection is accomplished it is likely to lead to these retrograde developments which are so well recognized in organic forms and which are also manifested in the realm of mental and social organization.

With the further advance of the greater states to their modern aspect, we find the conditions of warfare becoming more complicated; yet the essential characteristics of the business remain the same as those we find in the simpler agricultural communities. The complication is one of methods as shown in the management of the outbreaks and in the conduct of the military operations. No longer can aggrieved borderers set up some private war; the right to begin contests is lodged in a central authority; conquered peoples are not, as of old, eaten, or, as later, enslaved; they are usually taxed to pay the costs of the victor's campaign. Conquered territory, except it be that of the lower races, is rarely annexed by the successful state; when this is done it is usually the excuse of some previous ownership, of consanguinity of folk, or dominating strategic considerations. Private property cannot be taken; the right, dearest to all soldiery, of sacking a town taken by seige, is denied; the enemy's wounded must be tenderly cared for and his prisoners guarded from harm. The cross-bearing flag which guards the hospitals and ambulances must be kept out of fire; surgeons and nurses are deemed sacred. To this preposterous complexion have we come at last.

It is self-evident that with the modern confusion of brutality and beneficence in warfare the struggles between armed hosts has lost all trace of its original selective value and that with this loss has gone the old reason, in the logic of nature, for the contention between human societies. There remain to be examined two arguments for the continuance of war which deserve consideration; these are that war serves to awaken and maintain in individual man qualities of mind which cannot be gained in peaceful pursuits, and that it enables the highly organized, powerful and, therefore, presumably better peoples to extend their influence over the less successful races in a manner in which they could not expect to do so by the arts of peace. We shall briefly examine these propositions.

While it may be granted that valor, *i. e.*, in this case the motive that makes a man willing to kill his neighbor at the risk of being killed himself, is a good thing to have latently abiding in

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a state, there is absolutely no reason to believe that its presence there is in any measure a product of warfare. On the other hand, the facts, as well as more general considerations, go to show that affirmed peace affords the best possible school for the type of courage which the military service of modern times demands. Savages with their endless training in war rarely show anything like the fine bravery which is common to the well-bred citizens of a civilized folk, who have never seen, much less taken part in, combats. More trustworthy soldiers have never been known than those of our civil war, when not one in a thousand had slain a man until it became their duty to do so. Moreover, modern warfare calls on troops, not for the rush of battle, but for a steady business-like duty where hot blood counts for little, but where the methodical, painstaking laboriousness of civilization counts for much, is indeed the telling element of the campaign. War has indeed become in our day a *mill* occupation, requiring in its operators all the best qualities of the citizen and none of those of the savage.

The writer has had some opportunity for noting the kind of men who are serviceable in war; so far as his observations go the bully is worthless, for he is pretty certain to be out of the ranks in a crisis. So, too, the rather higher grade fellow who trusts to his physical prowess, who has proved his valor to his own satisfaction in personal difficulties, is likely, when a little out of condition, to evaporate in a fight. The quiet country boy, accustomed to farm labor or, better still, the well trained clerk or student who has had a fancy for out of door sports, is the man for the trials of the march or camp, as well as for the incidental though rare moments of battle. This is the general experience of many soldiers who have had occasion to observe the qualities of men who complete the rank and file of armies. It is a noteworthy fact that the present commander-in-chief of our army was a farm boy, then a clerk, entered on the lowest grade and won his way by soldierly qualities of the highest grade to the head of his corps. The facts thus seem to go dead against the notion derived from the ancient conditions of warfare when personal combats decided the fate of campaigns, that we need to keep up the habit of combat. Granting for argument's sake that war serves to develop the spirit and latent talent for warfare in men who would not otherwise know that they were born soldiers, certain evident questions have to be

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met as to the profit of the process, even on the assumption that military capacity is a thing to be sedulously cultivated. In the first place, we may ask what reason there is for believing that these aroused capacities and accomplished trainings will be by inheritance fixed in the blood of a people? The naturalist has to answer that there is no reason why any such result should be accomplished and best founded argument is that the opposite result would be attained. It is now well recognized that acquired characteristics, whether of body or mind, are, with rare if any exceptions, not inherited; therefore any amount of training in military affairs would not be likely to breed capacity for such work in a people. Moreover, as war is certain to bring about a high average of death among those who are successful in the craft, death which usually comes in the reproductive period, the action of this natural (or artificial?) selection is to remove the soldierly strains of blood from the warring folk. It seems not unlikely that the evident decline in the military capacity of France may be due to this incessant sacrifice during the last century of those of her sons who have shown a capacity for warfare. In the next place, the question may be put as to the advantage which may be looked for from the development of martial qualities in a people like our own, who are separated in theory and in fact from the uses of war. If there be anything certain in this world it is that, save for internal strife, no part of our territories will ever know the drums and tramplings of new conquests. Wherefore, then, should we turn the attention of our youth from the duties of production to the brutal purposes of destruction?

It may be allowed to the advocates of war that there is a certain development of military capacity to be won by turning the attention of a people to the task of fighting. The things which the people of a great nation think about are likely to be done, for the reason that hosts of able men have the matter on their minds. But among a business folk like our own the martial effects of war are very temporary, as may be seen by the issue of our civil war. Immediately on the disbandment, the soldiers with joyful alacrity returned to their peaceful vocations. They are fond of reviewing the memories of their campaigns, but a set of men less interested in the military theory it would be hard to find. When we hear a man shouting for conflict, it is tolerably certain that he lacks the experience or the constructive imagina-

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tion to tell him the nature of war. Thirty years after the greatest struggle of modern times, the people who waged it are, if anything, less military in spirit than they were before. Therefore, those of our countrymen who are the enemies of peace must not be content with an occasional turn of arms—they must ask that the gates of the temple where they worship shall be always kept open. Their project, for its successful issue, demands that we abandon the gains, both moral and material, which are the product of the theory and situation of our nation, and turn back to the state of affairs in the old world and in other times.

It should not be overlooked that war has a distinct fascination to any normally constituted man; he may detest it as much as the writer does, but the sound of a familiar bugle call, of those notes which have for centuries sung in his blood, will stir him in a strange way with the spirit of action. It should not be assumed that those who protest against it do not fully sympathize with the motives of combat; they are in the position of our ancestors, of earlier times, who set their faces against the degradations which our kind have lived down. Men did not give up private vengeance, or polygamy, or slavery, or the butchering of prisoners on the battle-field, because they disliked these things, but because they knew that the desire for them was wrong. It is for us in this matter to make for good as our ancestors have done. This making will be difficult; for none of the patent evils of man's estate are so inwoven with the texture of society of the civilized world as this of militarism. It has a place in literature which is hardly second to love; it is ingrafted in the systems of all the great states except our own, and in this sole stronghold of peace there is a large and apparently gaining class that desires to revive the one evil to which the sea and the good sense of our ancestors have formed barriers.

The contests with the other evils which have been overcome have been easier than that which is to do away with war; none of them have had such support from that curiously strong motive of our times, the national spirit. All the great states are now possessed with a humor for dominion, the like of which has not been seen since the day when Spain was strong. In all times since nations began to act as coherent bodies, the commercial motive, the desire to extend trade, has had much to do with conquests; but in this age, when business means so much to

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people of the ruling classes, the desire for possessions as a basis for commerce has a greater control of governments than ever before. In this way the interests of business, which in the main work for peace, have a certain influence in favor of those courses of national conduct which lead to wars. It is not likely that this disposition to grasp commercial advantages at the risk of conflict will in the end be seriously harmful; in the best sense, business has been the mainstay of civilization, for it represents the assemblage of the motives which lead to the soundest living of which average men are capable: it has made for peace even more effectively than has religion: still we have for the present to reckon with the business interests of the great states as operating in many cases for war. This is shown by the conditions of the Turkish question, where Great Britain is compelled by her relations in the East to retain the Mussulman in Constantinople at the price of enmity with Russia, and is likewise compelled to fasten on Egypt, at the cost of strained relations with France. So, too, in the Venezuelan imbroglio, the contention over territory is due to the fact that it is likely to prove the seat of rich gold mines. Wherever we turn we find the nations grasping for the small remainder of the earth which may be had even at the risk of wars, provided the lands promise a future basis for commerce.

In this modern national motive, shaped as it is by business interests, we find the last stronghold of the war spirit. The desire of conquest for the sake of tribute and for the glory that it might bring to the conqueror, which led to the aggrandizement of Rome, has vanished. So, too, the Spanish humor, wherein the lust for gain was mingled with a curious desire for the extension of a religion has disappeared. It is much to have the complications of actions which lead to war so far reduced. It is even more to have the remainder of the influences in a considerable measure dominated by a spirit of trade. Dr. Johnson's saying that "men are rarely so well employed as in making money" has a wider application than he intended, for it applies to those aggregations of men, the nations, which are now intent on gain in an intense but increasingly rational manner. The true business man avoids litigation, for it limits his trafficking; the sagacious state has already come to something like the same mind and may be expected soon to be dominated by like considerations.

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As the national spirit comes more and more under the influences of commerce, we may look for a sound criticism of the waste involved in war and in the endless preparations for conflict. The counting house, the accounting place of our time, will reckon all expenditures on armaments beyond those necessary for the control of the malefactor element, as unprofitable, and take measures to end them. It has evidently come to be the function of trade to lay and affirm the foundations of society; by so doing it will provide not only the basis for moral and spiritual growth of the nations, but it is likely to bring about the substantial unity of mankind. It may be well held that trade is selfish, but such is the nature of man that we must accept some hedonistic foundation for his work, and on that build, as we may, the higher parts of the edifice. A sound commerce is a better foundation for civilization than the glory of individual men, the extension of religions or the vaunting of national importance. It has the advantage that it is the only one of the world-wide motives that makes for peace. Philanthropy may seem to some to afford a better foundation for amity, but it affects too few men; moreover, it does not reckon costs, as needs be done on this sphere.

In the foregoing glance at the history of the war spirit, inadequate though it is, we have seen reasons for believing that the motive is an inheritance from the remote past of our kind in man and brute. That the pre-human stock of the mammalia from which men came was not fitted in mind or body for rapine, but had been directed toward a subsistence on vegetable food. The invention of arms more effective than those given by nature to the lower beasts, turned the actions of these new made men into violent ways. They became rapacious, preying upon the wild beasts and on each other. With the advance in social organization and the consequent resort to agriculture, these *predatores* changed their nature ; the chase of wild beasts became the sport of hunting and that of men formal war. In this elaborated shape the contests between peoples lost all value arising from the process of selection which it had before effected. In the new dispensation on which man had entered the survival of the fittest depended on other agents than combats.

It furthermore appears that the continuation of the motive of warfare among civilized peoples may be regarded as a late survival

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of one of the ancient bestial motives which were inherited from the lower estate. Many other of these motives have been stamped out or driven into hiding places, but it happens that this, immediately profitable, as it often is, has been glorified by tale and song, and so preserved from the shame to which the prophets have consigned murder, thieving, licentiousness, and other iniquities. So long as the control of governments was in the uneconomic classes of men who had nothing to lose and much to gain by war, the influences were overwhelming for its continuance; now that the business people are gaining control of the world's affairs there is reason to hope that the cure is about to come to this ancient and enduring ill. While considerations of trade may for a time lead to strife, its reckoning habit, enforced by the enlarged spirit of our time, will be certain to convince business men of the utter unprofitableness of war.

As for the curious and menacing uprisings of the war motive in a nation like ours, it seems most reasonable to class them with others of the resurgences of the primal beasts and beastly men on which the students and managers of society have to reckon. We all know that many civilized men, civilized for the greater part of their lives, occasionally fall back into the state of the savage in his orgies, the old sublated demons of the lower life possess them for a time, it may be for their lives. It will be a help to our "jingo" people if we can convince them of the fact that when they have accesses of this fury, when they dream of battle-fields and of the glory of the flag that floats over them, they are not moved by true patriotism, but are possessed by one of the hideous lusts which keep us ever in fear of the depths from which the better part of our kind has so marvellously won its way. It will be yet more helpful if our people come to see that when a legislator begins the war dance he therefore proves himself seriously unfit for the business for which he was chosen, in that he does not comprehend the nature of civilization or know the blessings which fortune has given our state by exempting it from the curse which afflicts the nations beyond the sea.

N. S. SHALER.

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JAMAICA AS A FIELD FOR INVESTMENT.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY SIR HENRY A. BLAKE, GOVERNOR OF JAMAICA.

THE destruction of the fruit crop of Florida by the extreme cold of last winter was a cruel blow to those who had invested their time and money in the cultivation of oranges and other fruit in that state. In one short week the results of years of labor were swept away. The unripe fruit was frozen on the tree; the trees themselves were blasted and withered beyond recovery; and cultivators, who had already tasted the sweet savour of success, saw ruin staring them in the face.

Under the circumstances it is but natural that men who have suffered so much should turn their eyes to countries where the knowledge acquired at such a cost might be utilized free from the dread of the treacherous cold snap with which from time to time the Mississippi Valley smites the softer South, and hence it is that letters are now pouring in to the islands of the West Indies, asking for information on every point connected with the cultivation of fruit and vegetables, and inquiring if indeed these islands are like the dwelling place of the golden haired Rhadamanthus, where "the human kind enjoy the easiest life, no snow is there nor biting winter."

A prudent man whose money and whose time are to be adventured requires to be satisfied on certain cardinal points before he puts his hand to the plough. Those points are security of life and property, similarity of language, suitability of soil and climate, acquisition of land on reasonable terms, sufficiency of labor, facility of internal communication and ready access to the great markets of the world. The first two conditions practically confine his choice to the British West Indian Islands. The last is certain to attract him to Jamaica, which stands fully

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equipped and ready to return a bounteous and certain harvest to the careful cultivator.

Jamaica lies ninety miles south of Cuba, one of its ports, Montego Bay, being 811 miles from Tampa. It is 144 miles long; varies in breadth from twenty-one to forty-nine miles, and its total area is 4,200 square miles.

Probably these figures will not convey much information to those who want to know. I will put it in another way. Take the map of Florida, and, following the railway from Tampa to Gainesville, draw a line from the latter to Cedar Keys. This will give approximately the area of Jamaica. Now run a range of mountains from Orient, in Hillsborough County, to Johnson's Pond, in Levy, varying in height from 7,500 feet at Orient to 1,800 feet at Johnson's Pond, with many secondary ranges and spurs, so that of the whole only 646 square miles, or 413,440 acres, are flat. Place in this parallelogram 4,000 miles of driving roads; 900 miles of bridle roads; 180 miles of railway connecting the capital, Kingston (which would occupy the position of Hudson in Pasgo County), with a port, Montego Bay, on the northwest, and another, Port Antonio, on the northeast. Tilt the map so that Tampa and Gainesville lie east and west, and you will have a fair idea of Jamaica and her internal communications, to which ought to be added weekly steam communication between port and port round the island.

I will dismiss its natural beauties by saying that, if not the most beautiful island in the world, there is certainly no island of its size on earth more full of exquisite beauties. With such a contour it is evident that there must be great diversity of soil and climate. The flat alluvial plains of the south; the rolling uplands of the north; the rich mountain valleys, and the steep hillsides afford in one place or another a fitting habitat for every tropical and sub-tropical product. The island is singularly healthy, the average death rate being 22 per thousand. In the high hills a fireplace is necessary for the cold evenings, and in the plains the heat is assuaged by the sea breeze, which blows from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M., and the land breeze that sweeps down from the cool hill tops from 7 P. M. to 4 A. M. The rainfall varies from an average of 85 inches in the northeast to 54 inches in the southern district.

Of the island only about one-ninth part is cultivated, or

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rather I should say that from that area crops are being raised; for outside the sugar estates cultivation can hardly be said to have advanced beyond the system on which the Indians raised their crops before the visit of Columbus. Then the Indians burnt the forest, stirred the upper surface lightly and planted cocoa, ginger, and maize. To-day the black population may be said to raise their crops in identically the same manner. As soon as one patch is exhausted they move on to another, leaving behind them an exhausted surface that will no longer respond to the scraping of the hoe, and a virgin subsoil that would amply repay the deep cultivation of more advanced communities.

Nor can the black population fairly be blamed for this backwardness in methods of cultivation. They have not had the benefit of the example of cultivation by trained farmers with capital, and it must be acknowledged that in the hills, where most of the small farms are cultivated, the question of manuring the land has hitherto presented considerable difficulty. There are indications that education is increasing the intelligence of the people, and a general improvement in methods of agriculture may be expected.

But if the black population have not been progressive, neither have the white owners of property, and for them the same excuses cannot be made. In 1774 Long, in his *History of Jamaica*, points out how valuable an export oranges might become if propagated properly. Even then he remarked that while in 1747 North Carolina had exported 296,000 oranges, Jamaica had not yet begun to propagate the fruit properly. "Yet," he adds, "the finest China orange I ever ate in England was not comparable to the worst I have tasted in Jamaica."

Were Long to write to-day he might make the same remark as to the absence of a proper system of cultivation of oranges, lemons, limes, shaddocks and other kindred fruits. They have been planted, but not cultivated; packed in a way unusual in the American market; and sent to compete with fruit, on the selection, cultivation, and preparation for market of which nothing that science could devise and careful attention accomplish has been left untried. Should the experienced orange growers, to whom nature has dealt so hard a measure in Florida, turn their attention to Jamaica as some are doing they will be richly rewarded by a perfect climate and a generous soil.

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There is a prevalent idea that there is a rapid decrease in the number of the white population of the West Indies, and an equally prevalent assumption that this supposed decrease is due to the unhealthiness of those islands. That those assumptions are incorrect the following figures will show. In 1861 the white population of Jamaica numbered 13,816. In 1871 it numbered 13,101. In 1881 it was 14,432. In 1891 it was 14,692. Declining prosperity of the sugar industry will account for the slight decrease between 1861 and 1871, and it may be inferred that the recovery and subsequent increase is due to the development of the fruit trade within the last twenty years. There is every indication that the production of all kinds of fruit will increase, and that improved methods will be adopted. This improvement will probably begin with the Florida fruit growers, who propose to try Jamaica, and it will spread after a time among the black population.

There is an opening for the horticultural pioneer that promises even greater success than fruit-growing. Most excellent high-class vegetables can be grown so as to be ready for market between December and March. Jamaica is thus capable of being made the winter market garden of the United States, and vegetables planted in October could reach the American markets in January and February, during which months they would have a monopoly.

Two important factors in considering the pros and cons of a foreign investment must be the price of land and the taxes levied upon it. There is nothing more difficult than to say off-hand what is the average price of cultivable land. It varies from $1 to $100 per acre, depending upon situation, soil, competition, and the relative anxiety of the seller and buyer to deal. Probably for land in every way suitable $7 would not be a bad estimate. It may be assumed that the land purchased would not be farther than ten miles from the railway or the sea, and everywhere there are good roads.

The taxes payable are six cents per acre on cultivated land, three cents per acre on common pasture and one-half cent per acre on "wood and ruinate."

Besides this the following taxes would be payable for a holding of 100 acres with a house assessed at the annual value of one hundred dollars. Poor rate, seven dollars twenty cents; educa-

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tion tax, one dollar forty cents; and holdings tax one dollar sixty cents. All these rates and taxes are devoted to the education of the people, repairs of roads, and care of the poor. As to labor, it is pretty much what the employer makes it. Employers or overseers may be roughly divided into three classes. A supervises his laborers carefully, pays them honestly, and if a man is unsatisfactory, discharges him. B lets them work their own way but on pay day stops an arbitrary amount for bad work. C gets what work he can, does not profess to stop wages, but cheats them in the payments. There is rarely any complaint heard from A of want of labor. B and C reap in due time the fruit of the distrust that they themselves have sown. The actual value of labor is pretty much the same in Jamaica as elsewhere, at the price. The ordinary laborer is slow, and as he does not properly feed himself he is not strong, but his wages are low, not averaging more than 36 cents per day. Probably it would be found that a given amount of earth would be moved at the same cost in Jamaica as in the United States, but the time taken for the work would be double in Jamaica. For light work in the fields there is no reason why European laborers might not be employed, even in the plains, while in the hills white men can labor without discomfort. There is constant communication with the United States, both by the regular lines and by fruit steamers. The postage rates are the same as those between the United States and England. It is only necessary to add that in the purchase of property, and the protection of their interests, aliens have the same rights as British subjects.

Jamaica has gone through a cycle of change. At one time the principal colony of Great Britain and the richest portion of her dominions, into whose capital, Port Royal, was poured the wealth of the Spanish main, the produce of legitimate and illegitimate warfare. Her riches gradually dwindled with the decreasing price of sugar, while her sanitary reputation was smirched by the perennial scourge of yellow fever that more than decimated the troops in the early part of this century, when everything in the clothing, feeding, and surroundings of the army courted the creation and propagation of the dreaded disease.

The manumission of the slaves set free new sources of activity and sugar ceased to be the single staple export of the island.

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Some properties were sold, some abandoned, many were subdivided, but a considerable number have been carried on as sugar estates down to the present. Year by year lessening prices of sugar have reduced profits, but Jamaica rum commanded an average price that compensated for the loss on sugar. Now, the latter is beginning to feel the competition from Australia, and the owners of sugar estates take a gloomy view of the future. On many properties the sugar works are what they were a hundred years ago. On almost all, the cultivation of the canes is as primitive as when the Surinam settlers made their first plantations.

In the meantime the cultivation of bananas has been taken up systematically, and with the happiest results. Coffee and cacao are largely cultivated by the people, and it is probable that in a short time the excellent fruits that grow in such profusion in Jamaica will find their way to the American and European markets. It only requires the lead of intelligent cultivators to give an impetus to systematic production, the result of which will be increased facilities of transit and lowered rates. That we are about to enter upon this phase is evident, and those who lead the way will reap the richest harvest.

HENRY A. BLAKE.

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FREE SILVER AND THE SAVINGS BANKS.

BY JOHN P. TOWNSEND, PRESIDENT OF THE BOWERY SAVINGS BANK, NEW YORK, AND CHARLES H. SMITH, PRESIDENT OF THE DENVER (COL.) SAVINGS BANK.

I.

ACCORDING to the statistics of January, 1895, the sums deposited in the Savings Banks of the Eastern and Middle States, in which are located the only true Savings Banks in the country, amount to $1,578,352,728.40. The number of open accounts is 4,296,133. These banks are organized without capital, and the deposits are invested by trustees who have no personal interest in them or their profits; who can neither borrow their funds nor become obligors for the payment of money borrowed; and who do a purely benevolent work in the interest of the plain people, mechanics, artisans, clerks, women and children, and those dependent upon salaries and wages for their maintenance. These savings are invested in U. S. bonds, bonds and mortgages on real estate, stocks and bonds issued by various states of the United States, cities, towns and counties, and to some extent also in railroad bonds and stocks, and bank stocks. The interest received, and the principal when due, is in most cases payable in lawful money of the United States.

The deposits also are returnable in like money, so that it is of vital importance that the quality should be of equal value to that received, and that both should be maintained at the present standard. The free coinage of silver would tend to depreciate the purchasing power of the dollar and reduce its worth to somewhere near the level of the bullion value of silver, which, as represented by the standard silver dollar has a market value of only about 50 cents on the nominal dollar. This would be a great

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hardship to the industrious poor, who are the real creditors of the country, who are never able to borrow, but are ready to lend their little savings to their Government for a fair compensation. They have a right, therefore, to expect that this dollar should not be cut in two and returned them without recourse for the loss they would sustain. They have a right to demand that the Government should not interfere to impair the validity of contracts and that their vested rights should be respected.

A depreciation in the quality of money weakens the confidence of the people in their depositories, the Savings Banks, for the basis of their existence is the faith in the minds of all in their soundness, security and perfect safety. This sense of trust once weakened, speedy withdrawals of deposits would commence, at first slowly, increasing by degrees with speed, so that it would soon reach the condition recognized as a "run on the bank." It is a well known fact that a run on a Savings Bank is profitable to the bank *per se*, by reason of the abandonment by the frightened depositors of the interest on money withdrawn between the two dividend periods of the year, so that the scare punishes only the timid ones who yield to the excitement. After having drawn their savings, the fruit of self-denial, they secure hiding places in their homes, or make confidants of their friends and acquaintances, and in too many cases suffer from loss in the many ways which magically spring open to entrap the unwary. The stronghold having been invaded, looting follows, and the volume of theft, robbery and crime which spring upon the community is incalculable. Those of us who have watched with anxiety the course of several monetary crises, remember with pain the sure and certain consequences that overtake the timid ones who, distrustful and panic-stricken, seize their earnings and actually place them in the way of rascals and thieves. Knowing all this from the past, and realizing that it may easily occur again if started by provocation, it is incumbent upon our lawmakers to avoid unhealthy legislation and adopt no new measures of a disquieting tendency. It is not possible by enactment of a law to compel people to believe that a paper dollar or a cheap silver dollar is equal to a gold dollar in value. The people may be compelled to use the paper or the debased silver, but both will find their level, and the losses entailed by the equation of differences between the false and the

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true will fall upon those least able to bear it. There is no real money except gold money, and to fix a permanent relative value between the two has always been impossible.

The enormous amount in the aggregate due depositors in Savings Banks raises the thought in one's mind of individual wealth belonging to those quite able to take care of their own interests; but when it is remembered that the capital of each depositor in Savings Banks is but $367.39, belonging to more than four million people, who are directly interested in the quality of the currency represented by these deposits, and that it is in most cases the only reserve they have in the event of accident, sickness, or old age, and that the debasement of its quality signifies suffering among the masses who depend on enlightened legislation to protect their property rights, it would seem to be but little less than a crime if such a law as we have been considering should be forced upon the people. A proper consideration of the helpless state of savings bank depositors should cause Congress to hesitate before perpetrating this crime against them for the benefit of a few. The enactment of a legal tender law at the beginning of 1861 caused an immense loss to this class of people and the suffering for a time was great, from which the country emerged only in 1879 with the resumption of specie payments. The lessons had during that period of eighteen years should not be lost upon us to-day and it seems remarkable that any number of men should be willing to take the risk of enforcing a similar period of distress upon the poor and helpless. It is a well-known fact that when derangements occur in the currency of a country, wages and salaries are the last to advance, while the cost of living is immediately increased. This would force depositors to draw their funds from the Savings Banks in legal tender money which had lost its purchasing power, but which they would be obliged to use to eke out a scanty subsistence, caused by receiving their stipends in money which had lost part of its intrinsic value. If the plea could be established that there is an insufficiency of gold upon which to base our currency, and that silver must be brought in to help us in maintaining an aggregate sufficient for our business interests, there might be some reason for the agitation which is now going on, but statistics demonstrate that the mining of gold is increasing so rapidly that silver should be relegated to its place as a subsidiary metal in the currency and become a legal

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tender only for small amounts. The great commercial nations with which we trade use the single standard of gold in paying balances, and this metal only is received in settlement from us. This seems to be then the reason why we should not be required to pay a premium on the gold necessary to pay exchanges against the country. Even if the depreciation should be less than we have contemplated, and the loss in the purchasing power of our currency not as great, the false principle would be established that the law making power has exercised a jurisdiction which was never contemplated by the Constitution, and the results would be somewhat similar to the defunct practises of the autocratic sovereigns who clipped the coin of their country, and indirectly taxed the people in that way whenever they needed funds for their extravagances. Our action, however, would be without the show of reason which the sovereigns had, for the people of this country are always willing to be taxed in any emergency when the wants of their Government require their aid. The lesson in dishonesty which we would teach to Savings Banks depositors would be bad, and would help to counteract the rewards of honesty and thrift which the practice of Savings Banks has striven to inculcate in the minds of the people in the past eighty years.

JOHN P. TOWNSEND.

II.

I AM asked to express an opinion as to "the effect of the passage of any free silver measure on investments in savings banks." The expression conveys the idea that free silver measures are of different sorts and descriptions. To my mind there is and can be but one free silver measure, a law providing for the coinage of that metal on equal terms with gold, and at some fixed ratio therewith. I shall therefore assume the subject of discussion to be the effect of the passage of such a law upon "investments in savings banks."

A currency capable of adequately serving the wants of a nation should be stable in value, sufficient in volume and capable of expansion with the growth of business and population. It should not be subject to sudden or capricious periods of contraction or distention, as the interests of a class or the recklessness of an administration might determine. It should not consist of one

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metal whose amount is vastly inferior to the financial requirements of a commercial world, nor yet of a substance unlimited in quantity, and needing only the stamp of authority to make it legal tender. The last generation witnessed some of the evils consequent upon the prevalence of an unredeemable paper circulation. The terrible sufferings of the past three years, the direct outgrowth of the efforts still making to fetter the republic in the golden bands of monometallism, are the best argument I can offer against the adoption of a single standard.

The occurrence in nature of gold and silver in limited quantity, generally difficult to procure, and nearly always associated together, long ago suggested to man their joint use as a medium of exchange, and as a base for the issue of paper notes, redeemable in either. So long as both were endowed with the money function, and each was accessible to the mints at a fixed ratio and without discrimination against either, the world's supply of the two metals sufficed for its practical financial needs, while their annual product furnished a moderate increase commensurate with the growth of industry and population. The dislocation of the t.. between them, and the closing of the mints to the free coinage of silver, have been the fruitful source of many of the troubles with which we are confronted.

An abundant and stable currency can best be had by the indiscriminate use of gold and silver, with a paper currency redeemable in either. Such a currency system always promotes industry and gives employment to labor. This means prosperity to the people, and that means prosperity and profit to the owners of savings banks. With plenty of work and good wages, the industrial classes are able to put by some portion of their earnings, which, collectively, represent an enormous capital, and enable savings institutions to flourish and expand. The attempted use of gold alone, as primary money, makes its acquisition the object rather than the handmaid of commerce; industry languishes, labor finds but little employment; the savings of other days are withdrawn for sustenance; and financial institutions, whose capital consists of the money of the poor, must largely suffer in consequence. In times like these, investors in savings banks are less concerned about the sort of money they will receive as interest or principal than about the possibility of earning enough to make both ends meet on each recurring Saturday night.

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Those who express so much horror at the possible prospect of what they term a silver basis seem to overlook the fact that in spite of all efforts to completely degrade it, all gold-using nations are perforce compelled to use silver more largely than gold. Practically we are, and since the resumption of specie payments have been, upon a silver basis. Ninety-five per cent. of every day transactions are small in their character. They are all made in silver or its equivalent. The wages of labor are all paid in silver. So are merchants' accounts, and butchers' bills, and the innumerable business affairs of daily life. This administration, which in August, 1893, declared compulsory silver coinage (in which I do not believe) to be the cause of the panic then existing, has recently been compelled to resume silver coinage, and the mints are busily engaged in turning out 8,000,000 silver dollars, all demanded by inexorable necessity.

Since bond issues have become fashionable, gold has become an article of purchase and sale; so have greenbacks. The one is wanted to buy bonds with; the others are needed for the purpose of securing gold. Both have disappeared from the channels of trade, and the national bank note and despised silver dollar and its certificate alone remain to perform the monetary work of the nation.

The statistical abstract of the Treasury Department for 1894 states the total of savings banks deposits at $1,777,933,242. This vast sum was for the most part put into the banks in ten, twenty-five and fifty-cent pieces, in silver dollars and silver certificates. No bank officer declined to take them because they were not "sound nor honest." When deposits are drawn out, or interest is paid upon them, the banks tender the same sort of money. No depositor has declined it because dishonest or unsound.

The payment in gold of the vast sum above stated is a sheer impossibility. The pretence that the banks expect to pay it in gold and fear that they will be unable to do so is absurd. All the gold of England, France and the United States would be inadequate for the purpose, and if the logic of gold monometallism be sound, it would be dishonest to pay in gold those who have deposited fifty cent dollars only. It is true that this is precisely the sort of money which savings banks lend to their customers; but since they require the latter to pay their loans in gold, the

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transaction is removed from the domain of morals to that of contract.

The authority I have already quoted states the number of savings banks depositors at 4,830,599. A very large percentage of these are voters. Their political influence is needed to rivet the gold policy upon the nation, and that influence may perhaps be secured by arousing their fears as to the safety of their deposits, and directing their prejudices against those who believe in the money of the fathers and of the constitution. A "free silver measure," if pernicious, will not affect a savings bank depositor differently from any other owner of capital, but, then, there are many of the former; so it may be well to convince them of the existence of a danger peculiar to themselves, and thus secure both their votes and their gratitude. The financial evangelist, whose concern for the monetary souls of others is greater than his interest in his own, is not an indigenous product, and his recent advent in such overwhelming numbers makes one sceptical sometimes as to his sincerity. The beneficiaries of an existing abuse or a coveted concession seldom fail to defend the one or to demand the other upon the broad ground of benefit to the people, and to them alone. Such tactics are successful sufficiently often to recommend their constant employment.

If the owners of savings banks earnestly desire to pay their depositors in what they are pleased to term "sound money," and really fear that the spectre of free silver will materialize to absolve them from doing so, the remedy is in their own hands. Let them paraphrase the golden rule by doing unto others what they invariably require others to do unto themselves. As lenders they take obligations payable only in gold. As borrowers they have only to enter into similar agreements with their depositors. This is simple, certain and efficacious. No silver legislation can affect such contracts, and their depositors will be perfectly safe. How many of them will do it?

After all, the question is not what the effect of a free silver measure will be on investments in savings banks, but on the owners of saving banks. The latter fear that such legislation may impair the value of the money they receive from their debtors far more acutely than they apprehend it will injure their depositors. Strange that both should not see their true interest along the lines of a gold and silver currency, equal before the law, each the

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helpmeet of the other, and both the medium of exchange for seventy millions of people.

"The simultaneous employment of the precious metals," said Rothschild in 1870, "is satisfactory, and gives rise to no complaint. Whether gold or silver dominates for the time being, it is always true that the two metals concur together in forming the monetary circulation of the world, and it is the general mass of the two metals combined, which serves as the measure of the value of things. The suppression of silver would amount to a veritable destruction of values without any compensation."

These words are as true to-day as they were in 1870, and their truth has been demonstrated by succeeding events. Under the operation of the Bland act, a law which violated every principle of free coinage, administered by unfriendly hands, the nation for twelve years was blessed with unbounded prosperity. Gold accumulated in embarrassing abundance, the treasury was troubled with a surplus, while commerce and industry grew apace. Since the "object lesson" of 1893, and the practical establishment of gold monometallism, we have suffered from calamities unspeakable. To-day our staple products are handicapped in the markets of the world by the bounty which the difference between the exchange value of silver with gold places upon such products in silver-using countries. On the other hand our manufactures are threatened with the overmastering competition of China, Japan and Mexico, whose ability to purchase manufactured goods is paralyzed by the counter operation of the same cause. The volume of currency is contracting through the secretion of gold and the hoarding of greenbacks. We are incurring a vast bonded indebtedness in the effort to secure gold for governmental purposes. The annual product of that metal, great as it is, can supply but a small part of the insatiable demand for it.

Before us, then, are two alternatives, bankruptcy or bimetallism. The first will overwhelm "investors in savings banks" in the common ruin; the other will bring to them the same beneficent measure of prosperity and happiness which it extends to all mankind.

CHARLES H. SMITH.

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CONGRESS AND ITS CRITICS.

BY SENATOR H. C. HANSBROUGH; THE HON. NELSON DINGLEY, JR., CHAIRMAN OF THE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE; REPRESENTATIVES W. ELLIOTT (S. C.), GEO. B. M'CLELLAN (N. Y.), AND CHAS. P. TAFT (O.).

I.

THE senator or representative who quails before unjust and undeserved criticism and takes fright at the flash and whiz of editorial pyrotechnics emanating from the metropolitan press, is entirely out of place in the American Congress. A great statesman once said that he "would rather be right than be President." This is sublime enough to be made the motto of every man who is called upon to assist in framing the laws of his country. It is, has been and will continue to be the motto of the great majority of our national legislators.

If this were an era of selfishness, mendacity and venality, as many thoughtful people fear it is, the attitude of the great daily papers toward the Congress of the United States would be in strict keeping with the times. For the sake of the country and its free institutions, let us hope that these publications are, as they claim to be, somewhat in advance of the age, and that they are not soon to be overtaken.

There have been some rapid, even wonderful, changes in journalistic methods and policies from those that existed prior to and during the hazardous days of our civil war, when the double-leaded editorial breathed a deep love of country and the ambition of the foremost writers and publishers was grounded upon a sincere and devoted regard in behalf of a strong spirit of American patriotism. In this age the only real "free press" is the country press, supplemented by the leading magazines. According to

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the ethics of the metropolitan press, men and measures are written up or written down not upon their merit, but upon their relationship to the sordid interests of the stockholders of the "great dailies."

The people who rail most at Congress are, first, the thoughtless and irresponsible, and those persons who are making a daily failure of life; and, second, those writers who are obliged to draw inspiration from the business department of their respective publications. No man can, nor is he expected to, write his true convictions while his bondsman's club hangs, like the Damoclean sword, immediately over his head. The writer in greatest demand is the one having the most picturesque vocabulary of effective and effulgent adjectives with which to hurl scorn and contumely upon the heads of public men. This kind of pabulum pleases class one, above mentioned, because it supplies them with new and novel epithets; it also pleases the business management of the paper, because it swells the subscription list.

Congress, as a body, is the main object of attack, by reason of its greater prominence among our other institutions, and because its members have the good sense not to reply in kind. They know that a just public sentiment will ultimately sustain the right, and happily for this republic of ours, public sentiment is not necessarily the monopolized creature of the metropolitan press.

A most remarkable policy was recently inaugurated by some of the daily papers published in New York city. Matters in Washington did not seem to be progressing to suit their tastes, and the cry was raised against the "silver Senate." Certain members of that body were severely arraigned for "misrepresenting their constituencies," and threats were freely indulged in that these obnoxious senators would be promptly defeated for re-election. Samples of the character of the detraction which seems suddenly to have been inspired and given currency in the New York papers about the time of the last gold bond deal may not be out of place here. Referring to the attitude of one prominent senator, whose honesty and integrity are without question among those who know him, it was said that he would

"Disobey the injunctions of his State and invite the fate of a political recusant—if traitor is too harsh a word—if he follows the course he has apparently chosen."

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Another New York paper told how the gold senators were being contaminated, socially and otherwise, by the senators who believe in and favor bimetallism :

"There are members of the United States Senate, Democrats and Republicans, who by their habits and past careers are objectionable to honorable and straightforward senators who for an instant would not attempt to betray their constituents on financial legislation or anything else. Yet these conservative and honorable senators are compelled to a certain extent to associate while in the Senate with these delinquent members. As for any social recognition of them, that is and has been entirely out of the question."

It is significant that in connection with these threatening and disparaging criticisms a list of the senators who are under the ban of the metropolitan press was published simultaneously by several journals holding like views on the financial question, showing that the list must have been supplied to all of them from one and the same source. The publication of this list brought forth the following statement from an Illinois newspaper whose editor appears still to be a free man and to be the guardian of his own thoughts and actions :

"The New York bankers have prepared a black list of the United States senators who displease them, and have sent word to the Republican and Democratic committees of eighteen states notifying the committees of their displeasure. The Republican and Democratic conventions hereafter must submit their nominations to Wall Street for confirmation. A better way perhaps would be for Wall Street to furnish the nominations for both parties in the first place."

And so the war of words goes on, class being arrayed against class, section against section, and interest against interest Meantime Congress proceeds to perform its constitutional duties with an ever-watchful eye to the common welfare.

A Washington correspondent draws this comparison between statesmen of years ago and those of to-day :

"It ought to be a great thing to be a senator of the United States. In years gone by it has been the coveted prize of some of the greatest and ablest statesmen in the two ruling parties. In those days there were no sneers for the intelligence and integrity of a large proportion of the senators."

"In those days" there were no degenerate newspapers to do the bidding of men bent upon the acquirement of vast wealth at any hazard. I hope I shall be pardoned the laudation of a body of which I have the very great honor of being a member when I

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say that the Senate of to-day is the peer of any of its predecessors. This is conceded by many of the ablest students, historical and political, who are in a position to judge impartially. Senatorial ability is not of mushroom growth; it comes in consequence of long and faithful service. The statesmanship of the present Senate is to be found in those whose heads are whitened by time and arduous experience. It has been so since the establishment of the body, and will continue to be so. The younger senators, of whom I am one, lay no claim to statesmanship. It is enough for the present if we may absorb it gradually from our senior colleagues; surely we shall never get it from the metropolitan press.

I trust that I shall not be understood as censuring the individual writers whose bread, we know, depends upon their ability to hold their places. The fault (and this is a mild term) rests elsewhere. As I have stated, it emanates from those persons interested in the financial receipts. It belongs to and is a constituent part of the tyranny that holds the stop-watch in the maddening race for wealth and power. A case in point may better illustrate my proposition. I have a friend who edits a good-sized daily paper in a Western city. This daily, too, has a business office. My friend is personally hostile to the business-blighting gold standard of value that has been foisted upon this country of seventy millions of people by England so that her forty millions may obtain cheap food products. He told me that for several years he had editorially espoused an American system of finance, to the great gratification of his modest and unbiased readers. One day in 1893, just before the convening of the extra session of Congress, the business manager of the paper entered the sanctum occupied by my bimetallic friend, and said, in language that pierced the very vitals of his silver certificate salary, that the policy of the paper must change; that the banker around the corner had been to see the big dry goods merchant in the next block and notified him that if he (the merchant) continued to advertise in "that fifty-cent dollar paper," he must at once pay his notes held by the bank. The advertisement was discontinued. The banker, under orders, no doubt, from his Eastern creditors, went further: he gave directions that no patronage whatever should go from the bank to the paper until the latter changed its financial policy. "I am now

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writing gold editorials," said my friend, "but my heart is not in my work and my patriotism is stifled."

That there are thousands of cases of this kind throughout the country there can be no doubt. When the bond buyers decided to repeal the Sherman law the metropolitan press was with them, and every banker in the United States received from the central bond-buyers' offices in New York and Boston imperative instructions to throttle the local press, if possible, and at once see their senators and representatives and instruct them to vote for repeal. The senators and representatives who refused to be "instructed" are the ones who are now being attacked by the metropolitan press. They are pilloried for the convictions they hold, and are threatened with defeat if they do not change their financial views.

Does any one believe that the hostility of the metropolitan press toward Congress is due primarily to a desire on its part for the prosperity of the substantial interests of the country? Is it not based, without variation, upon conditions in "the street," where the acquirement of wealth has made gambling respectable, and where bond syndicates, with contracts fat enough to afford liberal dividends, are worshipped as were the false deities in the temple of Isis? Of what consequence is the humble senator or representative in Congress who, under his oath of office, strives to determine with impartiality the great questions before him, and to deal with them with a view to the greatest good to the greatest number, in comparison with the man in Wall Street, who has acquired sudden and Crœsian wealth by wrecking a railroad or establishing a new monopoly to oppress his countrymen?

The high calling of the journalist has fallen into disrepute by reason of the business methods employed in the conduct of the modern dailies. It was John Dryden who invoked the help of the Allwise to aid him to "do and live as he believed." This should be the daily prayer of all our "moulders of public opinion."

HENRY C. HANSBROUGH.

II.

THE press of this country represents with a considerable degree of accuracy the varying currents of public opinion. While

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every phase of thought finds newspaper advocacy, yet it is never difficult to discover in the utterances of the press a predominant consensus of judgment which clearly indicates the trend of public sentiment.

It is for this reason that the attitude of the press towards the Fifty-fourth Congress may be justly regarded as the attitude of the country, and on that account worthy of careful attention and thoughtful reflection.

The marked difference in the attitude of the press towards the Senate and the House—the two bodies constituting the Congress of the United States—directs attention to the fact that the two Houses are constituted of controlling political elements as wide apart as the poles; so wide apart that the approval of the work of the one body necessarily implies disapproval of the other.

This wide difference is made possible not simply by the fact that senators are elected for a term of six years, and representatives for a term of only two years, but also by the fact that representation in the House is based on population, while each state is entitled to two senators regardless of the number of inhabitants. Thus it comes to pass that Nevada, with only 45,761 population, has the same power of legislation in the Senate that New York has, with a population of over 5,000,000; while in the House New York has 34 representatives and Nevada only one. A suggestive illustration of the diverse results of the workings of these two bases of representation is afforded by the fact that the provision for the free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one passed the Senate a few weeks ago by the votes of a majority of senators representing only about one-third of the population of the country, while the same measure was defeated in the House, where the representation is on the basis of population, by a vote of more than two to one.

It thus happens that the attitude of the majority of the press, as well as a majority of the people of the United States, is one of favor towards the Republican House and disfavor towards the anti-Republican Senate; an anti-Republican Senate, not only because of the eighty-nine senators now constituting that body—there being one vacancy in Delaware—thirty-nine are Democrats and six populists, while only forty-four are recorded as Republicans; but also from the fact that some of the so-called silver Republicans have been ready to unite with Populists and Democrats to

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thus far defeat every distinctively Republican measure that has gone from the House.

The prompt action of the Republican House in passing in a single week a bill to increase the revenue about $40,000,000, in order to meet the current expenditures of the Government, and prevent further deficiencies; and another bill not only looking to a reduction of the rate of interest, and to a popular sale of bonds already authorized by the Resumption Act of 1875, but also practically separating the proceeds of such loans from the resources available for current expenditures, received the approval of so large a majority of the newspapers of the country as to make it clear that the people endorsed this action and the promptness which characterized it.

A majority of the press, comprising not simply the papers of Republican tendencies, but also a considerable number of Democratic papers, have clearly pointed out that an increase of revenue is essential to a restoration of the finances of the nation to the sound condition which existed from 1879 to 1893. Before the recent loan was made there had been issued and sold about $163,000,000 of four and five per cent. bonds, from which had been realized about $182,000,000 in gold. All of this gold has been used in redeeming $182,000,000 in greenbacks. Instead of temporarily holding these redeemed legal tender notes in the Treasury and thus promptly stopping the raid by creating a scarcity of greenbacks, the Secretary of the Treasury has been obliged since July 1, 1893, to pay out $135,000,000 of these redeemed legal tender notes, and thus has furnished that amount of new greenbacks to again withdraw an equal amount of gold from the Treasury, thus necessitating an additional sale of bonds. And this performance is still going on, inasmuch as in the first fifteen days of February there was a deficiency of revenue amounting to nearly four millions of dollars, which was met by paying out four millions of redeemed greenbacks, which were undoubtedly again used in the balance of the month to draw four millions more of gold from the Treasury. And this will go on until the revenue is sufficiently increased to meet the expenditures.

While this practical view of the necessity of additional revenue has caused a majority of the press to express approval of the prompt action of the Republican House in passing a bill to temporarily increase the revenue, it has also led them to condemn

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the neglect, if not the refusal, of the Senate to promptly concur in a measure to supply the Treasury with the requisite means to meet the current expenses of government.

Notwithstanding, the bill which passed the House, looking to the reduction of the rate of interest and the term of bonds issued under the act of 1875, is of less importance than the bill to provide additional revenue. Yet public opinion, as expressed by a large majority of the newspapers of the country, entertains no doubt that if the Senate had promptly concurred with the House in its passage, and the President had approved it, there would have been no difficulty in disposing of three per cent. bonds at par in lieu of the recent hundred million four per cent. loan, which sold at a premium of more than eight per cent. less than the equivalent of a three per cent. bond at par, thus involving a loss of nearly eight millions on that loan alone.

For this reason, as well as for the further reason that the House bond bill would have practically prevented the use of redeemed greenbacks in paying current expenditures in excess of revenue, the utterances of a large majority of the press of the country have approved of the action of the House and condemned the action of the majority of the Senate in substituting for the House bill a measure providing for the free and unlimited coinage of silver by this country alone at the ratio of sixteen to one.

When the Republican House, by the decided vote of 215 to 90 —183 Republicans and 32 Democrats voting to non-concur and 25 Republicans and 58 Democrats and 7 Populists to concur—refused to agree to the Senate free coinage substitute, the well-nigh universal indorsement which this action received from the Republican and Independent press, and the approval which it received from thousands of Democratic papers, made it clear that the House represents on this question the settled judgment of a large majority of the American people, as well as the nearly unanimous conviction of the business men of the nation.

It is not too much to say that the friendly attitude of a large majority of the press towards the national House indicates an increasing confidence not only in the good sense, statesmanship and conservatism of the popular branch, which has been heretofore supposed to be most influenced by temporary conditions, but also in the Republican party which controls the House by so large a majority.

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Even those papers which have criticised the House for not doing more than it has done, after witnessing the proceedings of the anti-Republican Senate, are rapidly reaching the conclusion that the House has done, or is likely to do in essential directions, all that had the slightest chance of securing the approval of an anti-Republican Senate and a Democratic President; indeed, far more than will receive such approval; and that it would have been unwise to go further in proposing Republican measures of vital importance with the certainty that they could not become laws, and with the probability that the hostile reception which such measures would encounter might increase the distrust that already exists in the country.

NELSON DINGLEY, JR.

III.

THE Venezuela question was the first subject of engrossing interest to occupy the attention of the Fifty-fourth Congress. Both Houses have been sharply criticised for what has been called their precipitate action in immediately passing the bill which was carried through the House by unanimous consent on the day following the receipt of the President's message. Undoubtedly the action of Congress was influenced somewhat by party considerations, but, in the main, I think both Republicans and Democrats were guided in their course chiefly by purely patriotic motives. As to the influence of party politics, I think it operated no further than this—the Republicans suspected the President somewhat of precipitating the question upon Congress by his aggressive message for the purpose of bolstering up the waning fortunes of his party and were determined not to be outdone by him in patriotic fervor, while the Democrats naturally felt that it would never do for them to block the course of a Democratic President. It must be borne in mind that the subject had received the most careful consideration of the Executive, that it had been most elaborately discussed with Lord Salisbury, and that negotiations had arrived at such a stage that there seemed no possibility of ending the matter by diplomatic negotiations. The reasons that specially influenced us in our action were that the President simply wanted means for ascertaining the truth in a matter of momentous importance, that, while the course

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proposed by him involved most serious hazard how it would be received by Great Britain, yet it seemed to be the only feasible course not necessarily involving war, that it committed Congress to no policy, that it would be simply impossible to refuse the request of the President and that, as there had already been developed a most serious difference between the two countries, we would be weakening our own side by exhibiting to Great Britain a divided front. It is a curious fact that, when the bill was brought into the House and unanimous consent asked for its consideration, the only gentleman who seemed to find much difficulty in suppressing an objection was Mr. Boutelle, of Maine, who, to use his own language, had been "accused in times past of being somewhat of a jingo." Undoubtedly within a very few hours afterwards, when it was seen what intense excitement and what irreparable injury had been wrought by the apparent danger of war, many a member of the House wished that he had had the pluck to do what Mr. Boutelle was so much tempted to do, and call a halt. And this, too, especially on the part of those who felt that there could be no greater public calamity than a war between the United States and Great Britain, that it would be a disaster of unspeakable horrors, and who, moreover, felt a great deal of sympathy in the main reason put forward by Lord Salisbury for declining arbitration, that it involved "the transfer of large numbers of British subjects, who have for many years enjoyed the settled rule of a British colony, to a nation of different race and language, whose political system is subject to frequent disturbance, and whose institutions as yet too often afford very inadequate protection to life and property": a reason which Lord Salisbury suggested would induce the United States to "be equally firm in declining to entertain proposals of such a nature." At least I can speak for myself in this regard. But at last have we not been fully justified by the result? The most serious consideration after the first storm of excitement had passed away was that the British Government would feel compelled to refuse recognition in any way of our Venezuela Commission and in fact might very well consider it as an act of aggression. But this one obstacle to a peaceful solution of the quarrel has disappeared in Lord Salisbury's hearty consent to afford the Commission all the aid that his government can give towards arriving at an ascertainment of the facts.

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Right on the heels of the Venezuela matter, and growing out of it, came the Revenue and Bond bills; and here an impartial judge must, we think, decide that the Republican majority in the House immediately dropped the rôle of pure and unadulterated devotion to public interest and lapsed very easily into that of coddling the fortunes of the Republican party. What was the situation that confronted Congress? The President in his annual message, and the Secretary of the Treasury in his report, had set forth in the most emphatic terms the deplorable condition of the Treasury caused by the "endless chain" system; that no sooner was the gold reserve strengthened by the sale of bonds than it would be immediately depleted by the presentation of greenbacks and treasury notes, making another issue of bonds necessary; and they most urgently impressed on Congress the imperative necessity for retiring these demand notes, and thus putting a stop to the drain on the gold reserve and the imposition on the people of additional and unnecessary burdens by the sale of bonds. What they further most pointedly showed was that it was not simply money that was wanted—they had plenty of that; there was then in the Treasury a surplus of over $70,000,000, exclusive of the gold reserve—but it was a particular kind of money, gold, that the protection of the government credit and the national honor demanded. The President had showed that by the "exasperating withdrawals of gold" the gold reserve was substantially in no better condition than when the bond sales were first made. He stated that the conditions were aggravated by the financial crisis then upon us, and brought about by the Venezuela complication, and he almost begged that Congress would make at least a legislative "declaration" in maintenance of the national credit. In hot haste, the Republican majority in the House submitted their remedy for the situation in the shape of a revenue bill to raise by tariff taxation $40,000,000 additional annually. Was there ever before such a performance? The President said that he wanted no additional revenue, that there was already a surplus of over $70,000,000—they gave him $40,000,000 more a year; he showed that it was gold alone that he wanted, and they gave him a revenue bill that notoriously produced not one dollar in gold; he appealed for action that would relieve the people from the burden of further unnecessary taxation, and they immediately put

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on the country an additional burden of $40,000,000 a year; he asked for aid "to prevent in a time of fear and apprehension any sacrifice of the people's interests and the public funds or the impairment of our public credit," and they promptly responded with a bill for an increase of the tariff which they well knew his public record would impel him to veto. Again we ask—was there ever such a performance?

While the bond bill, which was introduced in the House the day after the revenue bill was passed, was not as objectionable as that bill, it had some serious defects. It substantially provided for the issue of three per cent. bonds, payable *in coin*, and redeemable by the Government after five years. In February, 1895, when the contract was made with the syndicate for the sale of $62,000,000 of thirty-year four per cent. bonds, payable *in coin*, the President then informed Congress that it was a part of the contract that should Congress authorize the substitution of bonds payable in *gold* such substitution could be made, and that more than $16,000,000 would be thereby saved to the government; and in his late annual message the President had re-stated this fact. Now here was legislation that, unlike the revenue bill, was aimed in the right direction, but could not possibly reach the mark. Why were not the bonds made payable in gold? Has it not been the invariable custom for the government to pay all bonds in gold, although by their terms made payable in silver as well? And why not authorize the issue of gold bonds, and thus get for the government the enormous benefit which would accrue? And what better "legislative declaration" in support of the national credit could have been made than this? But no; the Republican majority did not wish to inject the silver question into the discussion, and so with all these solid inducements leading them in one direction, they purposely took the other. And it must be borne in mind that, as to both these bills, by the rule under which they were considered, no amendments of any kind were permitted—they had to go through just as they were or not go through at all.

What has been the outcome in the Senate on these two bills? The Revenue bill, that was rushed through the House post-haste in order to give the government instant relief, has just been completely side-tracked by a decisive vote of the Senate, refusing even to consider it. As to the Bond bill, all after

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the enacting clause was struck out by the Senate and an entirely new bill substituted, providing substantially for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. Clearly the judgment of the Senate coincides with the opinion of Senator Teller that it was never intended by the House that either bill should become a law and that they were proposed simply for the purpose of making "political capital."

The Senate free coinage substitute came to a vote in the House on February 14, and was defeated by the extraordinary vote of 215 to 90. If all the power and parliamentary skill of the Republican leaders in the House had been concentrated upon bringing about this result they could not have done a better day's work for the country, and yet it was the very question of all others that they dreaded, and tried their best to evade. They have literally blundered into the right. And what a wonderful commentary all this affords upon the boasted success of political *finesse* and manœuvering. The House, after struggling so hard to get away from the silver question, has, by means of it, achieved a great success, while the silver Senators, bent apparently only on advancing their cause, have invited the heaviest defeat it has ever suffered.

WM. ELLIOTT.

IV.

IF a general election had been held on the first Monday of December, 1895, no politician will deny that the Republican party would have swept the country. The vote for Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Fifty-fourth Congress fairly indicates the strength of the two great parties on that day. Thomas B. Reed received 239 votes; Charles F. Crisp received 95 votes. The session is less than three months old. The recognized leader of the Republican party is as able a parliamentarian and as brilliant a politician as ever, and yet the tremendous majority of the House of Representatives over which he has had the misfortune to preside has proved itself unmanageable. It has broken away from him. It is divided into cliques ruled by fads and local prejudices. The Republican party likes to be called the party of high moral ideas. If we are to believe the dictionary in use among Republicans, the expression, "high moral ideas,"

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exclusively refers to the power of making votes. The majority began the present session bubbling over with patriotic enthusiasm to save the country by making the election of a President in 1896 a certainty, and incidentally capturing the spoils of war. It set itself the task of proving to the people that the Democratic Administration had been a failure.

The Secretary of the Treasury stated in his annual report that, with a rapidly decreasing deficit and increasing revenues, there was an available balance in the Treasury of approximately $172,000,000. In a most able argument in favor of sound money the Secretary implored Congress to relieve the country from the endless chain of irredeemable greenbacks.

On December 17th last the President sent to Congress his Venezuelan message, followed almost immediately by his message on the financial situation, in which he called the attention of Congress, as he has done in almost every message he has ever written, to the dangers of our present financial system

The first message was received in a spirit worthy of the Republican party in the days when it was a party of patriotism and not of petty politics. The second message was answered by the introduction from the Committee on Ways and Means of two bills. The first a revenue bill, answering the statement of the Secretary of the Treasury that no more revenue was needed, by providing for a protective tariff equal to the wildest dreams of Major McKinley. This bill was rushed through the House under the apparent assumption that the Secretary of the Treasury did not know what he was talking about: a cheap campaign trick, to prove the falsity of his statement by denying it without arguments. It showed the country that the Republican party had learned nothing from the lesson taught it by the disasters incident to the McKinley Tariff law.

The second bill introduced by the Committee on Ways and Means was a bond bill. This bill, as originally drawn in its first section, authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to sell short term three per cent. bonds for the redemption of the greenbacks. In its second section it authorized the Secretary to issue certificates of indebtedness to supply temporary deficiencies. This latter section was practically unobjectionable. The first section by implication conferred upon the Secretary the power to impound the greenbacks. When the provisions of the first section

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of the bill became known, the soft money Republicans revolted. To keep the majority in line the bill, as finally introduced, contained the proviso that nothing in the act should "be construed to repeal or modify an act approved May 31, 1878, entitled 'An act to forbid the further retirement of United States legal tender notes.'" The bill was then passed. The sound money Democrats voted against it on the ground that it did not go far enough in the direction of sound money. The free silver men voted against it because it went too far. The majority had had the opportunity of coming out squarely for sound money, and of making the Republican party the party of the single gold standard and of insuring its success in 1896. It failed to rise to the emergency and straddled the issue. The Democratic party was beaten in 1894 owing to its position on the currency question. The people had every reason to expect some relief from the party they then returned to power. Instead of giving that relief, the majority has gone on record against the retirement of the greenbacks and, by the speeches of its leaders, in favor of international bimetallism, an untried theory, hardly commendable to practical men.

Having made its record in favor of the Republican theory of finance, the party of high moral ideas, impelled by the business-like policy of wasting time and doing nothing, sailed over smooth seas until the appropriation bill for the District of Columbia was reported to theHouse, and then out of a clear sky came a hurricane. The District of Columbia owns no charitable institutions. Private organizations supported in part by appropriations from the Government perform the work of charity in the District. When the item of "charities" was reached in debate in Committee of the Whole a fierce attack was made upon the principle of government support for private charities. It was claimed that no sectarian animus existed, and yet the appropriations for the G. A. R. Temporary Home, and the Negro Orphan Asylum were allowed to remain in the bill while all appropriations for Roman Catholic institutions were stricken out. Absolute consistency would have required that the G. A. R. Temporary Home and the Negro Orphan Asylum should have met the same fate as the Catholic institutions. The American Protective Association showed its strength; its orders were obeyed when the Catholic institutions were discriminated against, and the G. A. R. and Negro vote were not antagonized. When the bill was reported back to the

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House it was beaten on its final passage. A. P. A. Republicans were willing to vote for that organization in committee where no roll is called, but feared to go on record in the House in favor of intolerance. It was the first appropriation bill beaten since the war.

Up to the present time, with the exception of a few unimportant bills, no legislation has been enacted. The House, despite its promises of a business session, has done nothing of good, unless that it has clearly defined the principles of the Republican party. It has shown that the party is ruled by religious bigotry and is not in favor of sound money.

The Senate at least has the courage of its convictions; it is absolutely in control of the advocates of free silver. The House has proved itself unequal to the great emergency of the hour, the financial situation. With everything in its favor, with numbers, with able leadership, and with brains, it has proved itself incompetent to enact legislation; it has no convictions; it has been shifty and cowardly. If its opponents will profit by its mistakes and declare for sound money at Chicago, the next President of the United States will be a Democrat.

GEO. B. MCCLELLAN.

V.

WHEN Congress met last December the political situation discovered a Democratic Executive seeking to maintain the parity between gold and silver on a free-trade platform, a Senate composed of Republicans, Democrats and Populists, without legislative capacity from a party standpoint, and a House with a Republican majority of one hundred and thirty-four members. The question for solution, from a party standpoint, was how to manage each of these branches of government so as to produce the most favorable impression upon the country for the impending Presidential election.

The Republicans, enjoying the tidal wave of success in 1894, believed that a still greater one would come in 1896, giving them control of the White House and of the Senate. Their policy was therefore one of waiting and caution. The Democrats, struggling under the load of defeat, were looking for new questions of issue and new planks for a Presidential platform. The Populists

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were a small obstructive element, having the balance of power in the Senate.

Under these circumstances it was generally understood that no economic legislation of a purely partisan character could be carried through Congress and receive the sanction of the President.

The partisan and independent press of the country recognized this condition of affairs. The Republican and Democratic newspapers were not advocating any general line of partisan policy for their respective representatives in Congress, because nothing could be accomplished. The Republican newspapers, however, advised caution in all things, while the Democratic newspapers wanted a change, in fact, anything to relieve the party of the burden which it was carrying. Naturally then newspaper criticism of Congress would develop, not on the line of what ought to be done from a party standpoint, but rather on the line of what is feasible under existing conditions.

The Republican newspapers were generally fearful of the consequences of an overwhelming Republican majority in the House. The last word which each Republican Congressman received from his constituents was: "Beware of your excessive power in the House." This warning was reiterated in all public prints in his district, so that when he reached Washington at the beginning of the session he was loaded with caution. Naturally, Speaker Reed reflected this sentiment in his speech of acceptance. At once it was heralded throughout the country by Democratic newspapers that Mr. Reed had announced a "do-nothing" policy for the House. They alleged that his presidential aspirations would stifle all efforts at legislation. As their hope of party success existed in creating dissensions and ill-feeling in the Republican ranks, they even charged that he would favor this policy or suppress that, according as it benefited his presidential canvass or injured that of a rival. These charges failed in their object. No Republican was deceived by them. How utterly unfounded such insinuations were, has been demonstrated by the course of legislation up to the present time. Indeed, Republicans agree with unanimity that Mr. Reed's course in the present Congress has been the same as it would have been, if he had been in no sense a presidential condidate. His object has been, and is, to place the party upon the best possible footing, in accordance with the national Republican principles, for the contest next November.

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What, then, was the first refutation of the press criticism that this was to be a "do-nothing" House? It came when the President sent in his message on the Venezuelan boundary. The President's action in this matter was different from his usual course in foreign affairs. It gave some color to the newspaper criticism that it originated from political motives, in consonance with the general policy of the Democratic party to seek new planks for their national platform. Without discussing this point, it is only necessary to say that the Republican party derived its fair share of public approbation from the incident by prompt action in passing the bill creating the Boundary Commission.

At this point the charge of Jingoism against Congress was made by many influential newspapers. Even if an element of Jingoism did exist in the action of the President and of Congress, the general result has been beneficial. A national patriotic spirit has been aroused throughout the country.

The chief result, however, was to educate the country on its foreign policy. The strict constructionists said that the Monroe doctrine did not apply to the Venezuelan difficulty, and the liberal interpreters said that it did. Out of the whole discussion a new doctrine has been developed, the purport of which is to compel arbitration in territorial disputes between European powers and American republics. Without committing the United States to the policy of an armed intervention in behalf of arbitration, it is now understood that each case must be decided on its own merits, and that no American republic can with impunity be "oppressed" by a European power. This does not rest upon any resolution or statute passed by Congress, but simply upon the public patriotic sentiment as developed by the extended consideration of the Monroe doctrine.

The Venezuelan incident has also served to arouse the friends of international arbitration in Great Britain. It is to be hoped that the spirit of arbitration will so thoroughly permeate the people of Great Britain and the United States that war will be forever impossible between the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race.

An unexpected sequence to the Venezuelan flurry was the impending crisis in the Government finances. Foreign investors interpreted the message to mean war. They were in haste to get rid of their American securities, and, therefore, brought on a

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panic in the American market. At once there was fear of a raid upon the gold reserve in the Treasury. As the House originates all financial legislation, it took hold at once of the problems suggested by the low state of the gold reserve and settled them, as far as it was concerned, in a business-like manner. Legislation proposed by the House had three objects in view; the maintenance of the gold reserve by selling three per cent. bonds by popular subscription to redeem the United States legal tender notes, the issue of United States certificates of indebtedness not exceeding $50,000,000 to provide for the temporary deficiencies of revenue, and the fifteen per cent. increase of tariff rates to meet the expenses of the Government. These measures would hold the gold reserve intact, and would prevent encroachment upon it to pay the expenses of the Government. They are based upon the strong business sense which the Republican party has always displayed in the management of the nation's finances. If the Republicans had had complete control of the executive and legislative branches of the Government, they would have adopted a straight protective tariff instead of the fifteen per cent. horizontal increase. It was supposed that a free-trade Democratic President would permit a bill providing for a horizontal increase to become a law, especially as the increased revenue was needed to cover the regular government expenses. These bills passed the House and were sent to the Senate, where they have been practically killed by silver fanaticism. Instead of the bond bill a substitute providing for the free coinage of silver was sent back to the House. If the tariff bill passes the Senate, it will be vetoed by the President, since the success of the new loan has furnished temporary financial relief for the Treasury.

The newspapers throughout the country are properly holding the Senate responsible for the failure to furnish increased revenues to the Government.

Ever since the adoption of the Reed rules in the Fifty-first Congress, there has been a tendency on the part of the Western press and people to approve the business methods of the House and to censure the dilatory methods of the Senate. "Senatorial courtesy" might properly have served a good purpose fifty years ago when the number of senators was much smaller. As practised now, it means obstruction to legislation. It places the con-

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trol of the Senate practically in the hands of the minority. As long as it prevails, a prejudice against the Senate will exist in the public mind. The people do not care to have their vital material interests subjected to the whims of a few senators who are banded together for a single object, and who act outside of party lines. In the present Congress, where the policies of the Senate and House are so widely different, a careful reading of the newspapers of the Central-Western States will show that, in that district at least, the House is constantly rising and the Senate is falling in the public estimation. It might be added that a similar sentiment appears to prevail throughout the country.

The prompt action in the bond and revenue matters has disarmed all criticism to the effect that this was a House with a "do-nothing" policy. Indeed, those newspapers which at first found fault are now expressing the opinion that the House is the conservative business branch of Congress.

CHARLES P. TAFT.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

RECENT PHOTOGRAPHIC INVENTION.

No one who reads the daily papers can fail to have seen accounts of the "new photography," as it is called.

Just what name to give to this wonderful discovery we cannot yet decide upon. Sticklers for exactitude in nomenclature will remember that even the word "photography" is rather a misnomer. It literally means writing by light, and not picture-making by light. Custom, stronger than law, has nevertheless been content with the word, and there are many scientific and other terms and names far worse in their etymology.

As if to throw into the shade entirely such wonders as photographing invisible planets, and researches into the ultra-violet regions of the solar spectrum, the new process may claim the unique position of delineator of the invisible in general. Such experiments as photographing the metal shafts of knife handles, through the wood or bone, or coins concealed in closed wallets, are now elementary. We see very accurate pictures of bullets lodged between the bones of the lower leg, or of the bony structure of living hands, or even of whole skeletons of small animals, taken through the flesh. It is not to be wondered at that the majority of investigators are hard at work developing the capabilities of the new art in surgery and medicine. From metallurgists we do not hear a great deal and it must be admitted that we have yet much to look forward to from them. For, unfortunately, the common metals, iron and steel (the latter particularly), are very impervious to the new actinism, while less useful ones, like silver, brass and aluminum, are much more *transparent;* we can now actually use such apparent contradictions in terms. Glass, the type of transparent substances, resists the new rays like so much wood. A photographic plate-holder, with glass doors, would be a curiosity, and yet not wholly useless for the new process. The homogeneous structure of such metals as are penetrable by the X rays, as they are called, is well detailed. All the ornaments and lettering, as well as concealed flaws, cracks, etc., in the coins hitherto experimented upon, have been quite distinctly rendered. Eminent authorities in gunnery have expressed their belief in the powers of the new art to reveal hidden defects in expensive gun-forging. A process so sensitive to variations in molecular structure might be expected to render a differentiation between wrought-iron, cast-iron and cast-steel; but as yet we have only very meagre data in this connection. With more powerful sources of actinism, and with photographic chemicals and plates prepared for this express purpose, we may yet be able to realize such triumphs of useful picture-making as the revealing of dangerous flaws in bridge beams or in the shafts of sea-going steam vessels.

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Photography, like other arts, has curiosities of its own, and we will here mention one of the less well known phenomena (yet one properly belonging to the subject), namely, that some of the sensitive substances ordinarily used will respond to other agencies than light, giving images which are, to say the least, recognizable. A case from the writer's own practice will make this clearer. A plate had been exposed on the interior of a public building and on development showed a strange doubled or confused outline near the centre. Close examination revealed part of a landscape taken years before on the same glass. A sufficient number of prints having been made from the landscape negative, the glass was thoroughly cleaned by first removing the film with several hours soaking in caustic alkali, and then by prolonged soaking in dilute nitric acid according to the common custom of photographers. A free washing and drying of the glass plate was then followed by polishing of the surface. So then on preparing the plate to take the interior view no doubt of its absolute chemical cleanliness could be entertained, and yet so persistent was the impression of the older picture on the surface of the glass that the application of fresh photographic material *redeveloped* the old image. Here then we have an image produced by the joint action of a developer and a special condition of the surface of the supporting medium—quite independently of light. English scientists have written accounts of the action of shearing-stress upon the sensitive salts of silver. Others have told how the mere contact of certain foreign substances upon a film of iodide of silver will impress an image capable of being developed.

Thus we see that images can be formed on sensitive material independently of light. The term photography here would be the worst of misnomers, and such a word as "actinography" is preferable.

The manner in which the new pictures have been made is highly interesting. As might be supposed, the absence of light entails the employing of special apparatus. Its arrangement is briefly as follows: The photographic plate remains in its "holder" or dark-slide with the door (of wood ebonite or carton) closed. The object such as a nut, lead-pencil, knife, carcass of a mouse, etc., is brought up close to or touching the door of the plate-holder, which is then set at a few inches distance from a Crooke's vacuum tube. This latter may be called a sort of greatly improved outgrowth from the old familiar "aurora borealis tube" in the early days of electricity, when the generators were wine bottles from which the glory had departed, set on an axle and revolved against buckskin rubbers dusted over with scrapings from the backs of old mirrors. To be more precise, the celebrated English chemist's name has been applied to that form of high vacuum tube in which the energy or force from the negative pole is utilized to the exclusion of that from the anode or positive. The term *Cathode Photography* is a good one for the new pictures, inasmuch as it directs attention to the special agency by which they are made. Camera and lens are both dispensed with.

Seeing that this wonderful art has only been known to the world a few weeks and that a chief difficulty besetting investigators is the want of proper kinds and sufficient numbers of vacuum tubes, we must for the present content ourselves with speculations as to its future uses. We do not hesitate to call it one of the great discoveries of the century. Nor do we fail to foresee the incalculable help that it will be in some kinds of medical and surgical diagnosis. It is not fair to expect it to accomplish too much in deep-seated portions of the body. We have every reason to believe that fractures of the bony processes of the lumbar vertebræ, for example, or of the ribs

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which articulate with them, or, say, dislocations at or near those points, or the lodgment of bullets, etc., in that region (as happened in the case of the late lamented President Garfield) will be revealed by the new process and help the surgeon enormously. But supposing that we wanted to penetrate just a little deeper, say somewhere around the solar plexus of nerves, we could not expect good results when so many layers of tissues of different densities overlay the point to be examined. Even the heart enclosed in its pericardium might perhaps be too deep-seated; while again we might expect fair images of the surfaces of the lungs, of the pleuræ, perhaps of pneumonic consolidations and pleuritic adhesions—the latter almost certainly if they were of good size, and, of course, the effusions of pleurisy: in brief, *anything not covered up by too many layers of important tissue which itself might be diseased or injured.* We already have details of such cases as a sewing-needle sunk in the bone of the finger, and of abscess in the jawbone being made *visible to the eye* by proper lighting. And when we remember that small but powerful electric lights are being constantly introduced into the mouth, stomach and rectum for clinical examination, so that we can command a distinct source of actinism in the cavities of the body to assist what is already on the exterior, we feel disposed to share with the most enthusiastic in looking forward to what the new art will do for suffering humanity. In the one immense field of gunshot injuries (particularly superficial ones) we indulge most sanguine expectations.

Those familiar with ordinary photography will naturally inquire about the time of exposure. It is of course out of the question to answer such a question with precision, but the time is relatively long, say from a quarter of an hour to two or more hours with ordinary commercial plates.

ELLERSLIE WALLACE, M. D.

WOMAN'S WAGES.

THREE causes have much to do with the price a woman is offered for her work.

First is the survival of old notions about women's business incapacity. People do not yet think straight and see clear.

Again, competition is sharp among women. They underbid one another. Workers for money that is to serve only as pin money can work for less than the one who must buy food and shelter and clothes.

Thirdly, women can, or will, live on less than men. That has much to do with holding down their wages.

The following example will serve to illustrate other reasons. An editor employed the best type-writer in Boston. She had been victorious in competitive effort. Before she came to him she had been employed in a wholesale dry-goods house at fifteen dollars a week. In her place the firm took a young man, in no wise a better type-writer, and paid him twenty-five dollars a week. Now they would not purposely waste ten dollars a week. Why did they think it economical to pay the man more?

He was not a dependent relative whom the firm was willing to contribute to. They did not think a man to be a better worker merely because he was a man—an opinion boards of regents and trustees often hold (the school-

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board of St. Paul is the only recorded exception I recall) as reason for paying women doing the work of men half what they pay men.

One advantage the man has lies in physical qualities. He can endure more. He gives you the feeling that he can be more relied upon. The type-writing woman was not at hand so regularly. In this dry-goods house business had to be done daily. They paid ten dollars a week for the certainty of having some one always at hand.

Now it cannot be gainsaid that men are physically the stronger, and that women can not be strong so long as they live in contravention of nearly every law of nature. But history says the Spartan women were strong and healthful, and a Spartan type-writing woman would, doubtless, have insisted on the twenty-five dollars a week.

But reasoning about such physical disability may be at fault. We all know women who do the work of men along with men. They are as regular in their business habits as men. And such cases are not exceptions. Look at Vassar, Smith, and Bryn Mawr, for instance, where educated women are employed.

I am inclined to believe that the type-writer's irregularities were not so much a physical inability after all. They were rather a deficiency in training. Very few women have been taught regularity and method in work. It is deemed right to teach it to a boy, but it is rarely thought proper or necessary that it should be bred in the bone of a girl in the formative period of life. The only reason that after such education women take the cares and burdens of married life so sublimely, and carry them so successfully, is that the best part of their nature is touched and appealed to.

Now business does not appeal to the noblest instincts. Nevertheless, teach women method and regularity and they will have system in their work—in addition to the care for detail and the alertness and quickness which by nature they possess. Some women, as I said, have this already. But the world is slow to recognize the fact, and that keeps others back, because women are by nature and education conservative and sensitive to opinion.

Then, since social conditions are what they are, the new philosophy confesses us to be in great measure a result of our surroundings. "As what he sees is, so have his thoughts been," sings Arnold. It is likely that the inattentive type-writer of whom we speak feels vaguely the injustice of the world and says: "I can get but fifteen dollars a week at the best, so I'll sew to-day. If I could get the wages Brother John does—strange I cannot, for I do the same work!—I could pay for the making of my dress as he pays for his coat." The fifteen-dollar wages retroact and tend to make the girl inefficient.

Or a more serious cause may interrupt her work. For the home life hampers the woman forced into the world. In this transition state of domestic conditions—in passing from the incapable general household service to the skill of specialists—when a member of the family is ill, is it John who gives up business and watches by the bedside? Is it not Susan, so far as you have seen? No one doubts that it should be the duty of the one who does it best, and is fitted by love of the task and nature to do it best. That is oftenest Susan.

Centuries of the habit of self-sacrifice have made it seem right for the woman to set aside her personal wishes and to subject her forces and time to immediate circumstances. The sentiment is one of the great possessions of our race. But nowadays, when custom forces women to mix with the

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world, to scramble in competition with their brothers and fathers and husbands, to earn their bread, it is not what trade permits loyal subjects. The one who practices the virtue goes to the wall.

Men who employ women do not—you do not, merchants do not—pay a woman for the divine virtue. It is not "business." You do not pay her, and, in settling accounts you do not pardon her for attention to her fever-stricken father or palsied mother rather than to your desk and chair.

The women, however, must keep on. When they are purely bread-winners they may grow hungry and cold—sometimes, too, brothers, fathers and husbands, dependent upon them. What help is there?

A woman who undertakes the unquiet life and endeavors to do work in the busines sorld and work in the family as her heart and their needs dictate, is apt to fail in both. Specialists in nervous diseases in this country and in Europe have told me that in undertaking this two-fold duty women fail also in health.

It is, then, primarily the instinct of self-sacrifice in women; again, the unmethodical habits in which they have been brought up; again, their "little health," as Miss Frances Cobbe calls their lack of strength—these, as well as the three I first named, are the reasons why men are paid more than women when both are engaged to do, and do in truth accomplish, the same work.

Paymasters say—paymasters of a great magazine office, for instance, where many are employed—that women are apt to become mere machines in business; that they work mechanically, and never suggest change or betterment; that they are idea-less. This doubtless affects their pay.

But they are idea-less for two apparent reasons. First, each one hopes it is not to be her life's work. Every woman, generally speaking, hopes to marry. Nature and convention and the social laws at large indicate to her that the home life and the married life are her best life. Secondly, to rise in the ranks in such offices as I have named is not open to her.

Incentives to energy and originating effort, permanence, and probably increased pay, are taken from her.

KATE STEPHENS.

A GUERILLA EDEN.

THERE is a story about a troop of emigrants who left their berths in the steerage and tried to encamp on deck—in consequence of a ghostly apparition, as the captain tried to explain it, till a commission of inquiry investigated the internal arrangements of the steamer.

"No need of supernatural explanations," was the prompt report of the chief commissioner; "the only wonder is that the condition of that ship did not tempt the passengers to jump overboard."

With a similar suddenness a traveller in the coast-hills of Cuba would arrive at a practical explanation for the continued desertions that decimate the ranks of the Spanish troops, and which their officers attribute to the magic persuasiveness of the rebel emissaries.

With the possible exception of Western Sumatra (where the natives of a little bushwhacker kingdom have defied their would-be conquerors for a series of centuries), no country in the world can rival Cuba in the excellence and variety of the facilities for ambuscades, and all other conditions that

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make a land a paradise of native insurgents and a hades of their foreign pursuers. The very coast is a smuggler's Eden. Havana and a few seaport towns between Cape de Cruz and Cape Maysi have safe harbors, with deep water to the very wharves, but the whole south west shore is beset with mud-banks and dangerous reefs, where shipwreck can be avoided only by an intimate knowledge of the intricate and ever-shifting channels. Owing to the steep gradient of the hill slopes, nearly all the coast rivers are torrents, which, after every heavy rain, bring down the deluvium of the cultivated lands to deposit them in the form of submarine bogs, that allow the light *falucas* of the contrabandist to slip across, but entangle a vessel of deeper draught almost beyond the hope of rescue, if its headway cannot be checked at the first jar of the grounding keel.

Burglars that would enter a treasury vault often watch their chance from a hired room in the neighborhood of the bank building, and Nature seems purposely to have accommodated West Indian filibusters with similar observatories, in the form of the numerous small islands scattered along the west coast of Cuba, which enable a hidden privateer to watch the movements of the hostile gunboats.

Yet the task of the marine coast patrols is a mere trifle compared with the problem of checking the movements of insurgent rangers in the forest labyrinth of the coast-hills. Close to the shore—often within a hundred yards of the snowy shell-beaches that look so tempting from the sea—begins the *espinal*, or thorn-jungle, as the Creoles call it from the predominance of spinescent plants; then follows a belt of palms and *caucho* trees, with a dense underbrush; and along the foot of the coast-hills a strip of swamp, banked in by the inland rocks on one side and by the drift-sand of the dunes on the other. At many points of the southwest coast this belt of lacustrine tanglewoods is more then ten miles broad, and as trying to pedestrians as a mangrove thicket, where evergreen and practically indestructible plants sprout in a bottomless ooze, alternating with quick-sand hollows. The Cuban coast-swamps impede the progress of horse and foot soldiers alike, at any time of the year, but become almost impenetrable in summer, when the brooks are swollen from the heavy rains of the highlands and the lagoons can be forded only with the aid of native guides, who take care not to give foreigners the benefit of their best knowledge, though they may consent to accompany them to the causeways which intelligent pioneers might have discovered without such assistance.

These causeways, though often overgrown with a rank tangle of swamp vegetation, can be found at intervals of ten to fifteen English miles, but the Spanish officers complain that their pursuit of fugitive rebels is almost invariably baffled by the fact that the natives know scores of intermediate crossing places, and with a start of only a few hundred yards will effect their escape in localities where their pursuers, ten minutes later, have to stagger about in a network of creepers and aquatic plants, till a sudden plunge into a ten-foot lagoon admonishes their pioneers to admit the hopelessness of the enterprise.

In the terrace-lands the difficulties of progress moderate for a few miles only to be soon after complicated by the danger of ambuscades. The guerillas visit the plantation of the coast-plain chiefly on marauding expeditions, but establish their headquarters higher up, in the deep, bush-shrouded ravines of the Sierras, that rise tier above tier to the summits of the Sierra Maestra, or backbone range of the island. Good roads traverse

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these mountains, but, like the highways of the Incas, they lead the traveller close by the gates of death, and as a Spanish artillery regiment toils up the wooded slopes with its howitzers and ammunition wagons, their vanguard is suddenly greeted by a shower of rifle-balls from the head of a tanglewood gully, where big ledges of rock and the barricades of fallen trees form an effectual bulwark against a counter-attack.

"Forward! Push ahead all you can!" cries the commanding officer after a brief halt and a hasty survey of the situation. "Hurry up! There comes another shower! More hail and no weather-shed. Carraxo! those fellows have sharpshooters and repeating rifles!"

The artillerymen close their ranks and trudge forward across corpses and scattered baggage till at a turn of the road they are confronted by a barricade of felled trees, and the alternative of facing about and galloping their horses down hill, or halting to be shot down like wolves in a trap. Their pioneers try to remove the obstruction, but find that it will be a work of hours, and report accordingly, while volley after volley rings out from the rocks above, till the council of officers decides to order a retreat.

Besides these tanglewood gullies there are tree-shrouded ruins; and caves—often groups of limestone caverns with connecting tunnels and hidden outlets, where a hundred sharpshooters can hold their own against an army corps.

These caves that are found along the slopes of the Sierra throughout its enormous extent of seven hundred and fifty miles, afford the native rangers a welcome retreat from the showers of the rainy season, while the lack of topographical knowledge often obliges their enemies to bivouac in the midst of the dripping forests, where in the intervals of drenching rains mosquitoes descend like a shower of hot ashes, while ants and chigoes explore the undergarments of the would-be sleeper.

The consequent disorders are aggravated by the malarious effects of bad drinking-water, not to mention such trifles as the circumstance that "not less than fourteen kinds of poisonous fruits and berries bear a close resemblance to edible varieties," as the author of a work on the flora of the West Indies informs us.

No troops recruited among the natives of the temperate zone can stand the hardships of a protracted campaign in a country of that sort, and the average term of endurance is about three months for the hardy Catalan highlanders and four months for the weaker but more sun-seasoned natives of southern Spain.

The Cuban Creoles, on the other hand, actually enjoy their warpath outings, as their forefathers enjoyed their campaigns against the Spanish Moors and the legions of the Corsican Cæsar. They are, moreover, sustained by the sympathy of nearly all their West Indian neighbors, and will achieve their independence if one of their revolts should ever, for a few months, be aided by an uprising of the Spanish Republicans.

FELIX OSWALD.

CHEMISTS AS LEADERS.

THE historians of human development speak of the Stone Age, the Bronze Age, the Iron Age, and other ages, meaning thereby the successive periods of human activity that have been characterized by the use of these

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materials. The most fitting term to apply to the period which began between fifty and a hundred years ago, and whose development is yearly more rapid and more wonderful, would be "The Chemical Age."

In the past, while what was called philosophy marked a high mental activity, much of it was a form of thought based almost entirely on abstract speculation, for the study of matter and its changes was almost unknown. Instead of the exact observation of material objects and their behavior under varying conditions, and the study of the phenomena of Nature, all kinds of imaginative trains of thought were evolved, and speculations, often baseless, were put forward with little idea as to whether they were supported or not by facts. Even when facts were observed, they were often distorted in order to make them accord with the false or visionary philosophy of the day. But when the delicate balance was invented, and the weights of the different kinds of matter could be exactly determined, and their changes followed with precision, the great principle of the indestructibility of matter was established, and the schools of abstract philosophy suffered an overturn. Instead of the observed fact being subservient to the speculation, the observed fact became dominant, and speculative philosophy retained its value only so far as it accorded with and explained, or amplified by inference, the fact.

All this bears directly upon the conditions of modern competitive life. For instance, men, first of all, must obtain food. To obtain it from weaker communities by force or robbery could be successful only for a time, as the producers were either exterminated or they gave up so unprofitable an industry. The food-supply of mankind depends on the application of a knowledge of the principles involved in plant-growth. The basis of this knowledge is chemistry. It was not really until 1840 that it was demonstrated by the great chemist, Liebig, that plants, like animals, feed. They take certain kinds of nutriment out of the soil, and soon exhaust it. Soon they fail to grow. Liebig showed that if these nutritive substances were put back into the soil, the plants would keep on growing, and that there was no limit to the productiveness of the earth, when properly nourished as chemical science indicated. Malthus stated that the population must be restricted, else it would exceed the food supply. Liebig showed that the production of food stuffs, made possible by the application of chemical science, was so immense that such a danger is not to be feared. Chemical knowledge has rendered it possible to make several blades of grass grow where there was only one. Liebig then investigated live stock and proved that, though animals eat many kinds of food, the food owed its value to a few definite nutritive elements that are found in greater or less amounts in all foods; and that the animals, though seemingly widely different in physiological nature, were composed essentially of the same substances. Thus the raising of live stock and the production of dairy products were placed upon a scientific basis. Agriculture began to employ scientific methods and the cost of raising plants and animals was greatly reduced.

It is not always easy to appreciate at first glance the far-reaching effect of a chemical discovery. The introduction of the hot blast in the manufacture of iron increased the production of pig iron. The invention by Bessemer of the converter method of making steel practically revolutionized the manufacturing industry of the whole world. What cheap steel means to humanity could not be told in a large volume. The invention of the basic process for treating phosphatic iron ores by Thomas and Gilchrist

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made it possible to produce steel from ores existing in immense quantities and hitherto entirely worthless. And strange to say, phosphorus, the "iron master's curse," is now obtained as a phosphatic slag, which is a most valuable fertilizer for the farmer. The chemist turned the bane of England's iron industry into a blessing to England's agriculture. Weldon utilized the waste product in the manufacture of chlorine, so that it could be used over and over again. In turn was reduced the price of bleach, of bleached white cotton and of white paper. Books were made cheaper. Education was cheapened. The waste tars of the gas manufacture under the skillful hands of a host of chemists are now the basis of an immense industry. They produce brilliant dyes, perfumes, antiseptics, medicaments, and what not. The astonishing development of chemical knowledge has assisted in the evolution of electricity, the commercial future of which is incalculable. The study of life has been taken up, and by the aid of the colossal genius of Pasteur, disease in plants, animals, and men is checked and avoided, thousands of lives are yearly saved, and the tenure of human existence is far stronger than it was half a century ago. Many pages could be written to illustrate how far-reaching and how little short of marvellous have been the modern advances in chemical science and their applications. But they have taken place so quietly, although irresistibly, that the average individual does not appreciate the part they are playing; nor can we estimate the still greater part they are to play. Another striking instance of the results of chemical research is the development on the one side of explosives and on the other of hard and tough steel. Without the assistance of the chemist war would be monotonous.

The stability of a community lies in its independence. Its independence is based on its productiveness. Manufacturing consists in changing one kind of form of matter into some other kind of form. It is easy to understand, therefore, that chemistry, the science that studies the changes in the identity of matter, underlies the manufacturing arts. Hence the industrial status of a nation may be fairly estimated by the condition of its chemical knowledge. It is fair to hold that the country that has the best chemists will in the long run be the most prosperous and the most powerful. It will have at the lowest cost the best food, the best clothing, the best manufactured materials, the fewest wastes and unutilized forms of matter, the best guns, the strongest explosives, the most resistant armor. Its inhabitants will make the best use of their country's resources; they will be the most healthy, the most free from disease; they will oppose the least resistance to favorable evolution; they will be the most thrifty and the least dependent on other nations. The education of its people in chemistry and the physical sciences is the most paying investment that a country can make. Competition to-day between nations is essentially a competition in the science and applications of chemistry.

It is fair to assume, also, that if men who have devoted their lives to the study and practice of chemical science, and who hence must have the clearest understanding of all men of the true relations existing both between material things and between material things and humanity, also possess the mental calibre that may enable them to be men of affairs, they ought to be especially successful in executive positions. Such an assumption is supported by the fact that the number of responsible positions, at first sight quite unconnected with chemistry, which at present are filled by chemists, or men who have received a thorough training, is large. This shows, not

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that the chemist is an unusual kind of man, but that a chemical education may make a man unusually efficient. Perhaps as striking an illustration of this as any is the increasing number of chemists in charge of large educational institutions. There is no position in which a man may more powerfully and so lastingly influence man than that of the head of a large school or college.

The Marquis of Salisbury, Prime Minister of England, is a chemist, and spends much of his spare time, when he has any, in his finely-appointed laboratory. And France now places in the most intricate and difficult of positions, that of Minister of Foreign Affairs, her most eminent chemist, Berthelot.

These are signs of the time; indications of the chemical age that the world has now entered into, and in which it is destined to remain for many years to come. It will be interesting to watch the course of the two great nations which are now under the guidance of chemists—bearing in mind that Germany is now the home of chemistry, nor forgetting that Russia's advance in chemistry during the last quarter of a century may fairly be called phenomenal.

In this connection it may be pertinent to ask what has become of all the clever and earnest young Japanese chemists who have been studying at the leading educational centres of Europe and America during the last years?

PETER TOWNSEND AUSTEN.

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